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MANCHESTER

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RULES AND REGULATIONS

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HENRY GUPPY.

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BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN

VOL. 10 JANUARY, 1926 No. 1

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

CHANGES IN THE PERSONNEL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THE year 1925 witnessed many changes in the personnel of the University of Manchester, brought about by death, or by the retirement of several members of the teaching staff, whose presence and work in Manchester have added lustre to what is justly regarded as the foremost of the English universities of modern foundation.

The History School has been the greatest sufferer: through the retirement of Professor T. F. Tout, to whom fuller reference will be made in another paragraph; through the removal of Professor H. W. C. Davis, in consequence of his appointment to the Regius Professorship of Modern History in the University of Oxford; and through the lamented and premature death of Professor George Unwin, one of the most brilliant students of economic history England has ever known, whose last piece of writing appears on pages 163-9 of the present issue.

Professor F. M. Powicke, the present occupant of the Chair of Mediæval History, to which he was appointed in 1919, is one of Professor Tout's old pupils, and is justly proud of the fame of the Manchester School of History with its tradition of exact scholarship, which he may be trusted worthily to maintain upon the foundations so well and truly laid by Professor Tout. The Chair of Modern History has been filled by the appointment of Professor J. E. Neale.

Professor S. Alexander also retired from the Chair of Philosophy, which he had held since 1893 with distinction to himself and to the University. His retirement was marked by a fine and well deserved tribute to his place and achievement in philosophy, which took the form of a bust by Joseph Epstein, presented to the University by the Master of Balliol, Dr. C. P. Scott, and Mr. Edward Fiddes on

behalf of the subscribers, on Wednesday, the 25th of November. It stands in the Arts Building of the University, a tribute of the admiration and affection of colleagues, students, and friends.

Furthermore, we are on the eve of losing a Vice-Chancellor, in the person of Sir Henry Miers, who has won the admiration of, and endeared himself to all, who have come into contact with him. To quote the words of a writer in the "Manchester Guardian": it is difficult to think of the place as being wholly filled by any successor. We dare not hope ever to see in another holder of that important office, a more remarkable union of serious interests in science and in letters, a more faithful devotion to the labours of his position, or a more imperturbable sanity of judgment as between any two alternatives that may present themselves to an administrator.

But, as the same writer continues, every successful holder of such an office brings to it his own individual blend of gifts; no Ward, or Hopkinson, or Miers is repeated; some new and distinctive type of animating and fertilizing energy appears, and no sort of doubt is felt that the newly appointed Vice-Chancellor who will succeed Sir Henry Miers, when he relinquishes the position in September of the present year, will in his turn win the approval of Manchester as the working head of its University.

Mr. Walter Hamilton Moberly, who has been appointed by the Court of Governors of the University to succeed Sir Henry Miers, is at present Principal of University College, Exeter, a position to which he was appointed only a year ago. He is 44 years of age, the son of the late N. B. Moberly, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford. From 1904 to 1907 he was a Fellow of Merton, where he was the colleague of Professor Powicke; for a short time he was lecturer in political science at Aberdeen, and when, in 1906, he left Merton to take up a fellowship and philosophical tutorship in Lincoln College, he became the successor, though not the immediate successor of Professor Alexander, where he remained until 1921. In that year he was appointed to succeed Professor Muirhead as professor of philosophy at Birmingham University, where great things were hoped of the work so well begun, and it was something of a surprise, if not a disappointment, to Mr. Moberly's philosophic friends, when, in 1924, they heard that he had decided to accept the post of Principal

of Exeter University College. Exeter has not been allowed to keep him long, although we are assured that it has been long enough for them to know what they are losing.

We cannot do better than quote one or two passages from the appreciation of the new Vice-Chancellor, contributed to the "Manchester Guardian" by one who evidently knows him well:

"Thus the University has chosen a philosopher for its king. But Mr. Moberly's philosophy has never been a fugitive and cloistered virtue. It was ready in the war to sally out and see its adversary, and won for its possessor as a company commander of infantry, much trust and credit, and a D.S.O. It called him out once more in the bad days of the Black and Tans in Ireland, and led him to explore in person the state of affairs there. And on the less Miltonic occasion of the recent Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge, Mr. Moberly was observed to be an active member of the body referred to in the Report as the Oxford Reform Committee, which represented the left wing of university opinion. Mr. Moberly has many friends and no enemies, and speaks uniformly in the measured and unhurried tones of Aristotle's 'magnanimous man.'

"Manchester may rest assured that, in the new Vice-Chancellor of its University, it gains for itself and for the University a man of strong character and winning personality, of ample experience and excellent judgment, a man, too, in the prime of life, with plenty of strength and energy for the work before him, still sufficiently youthful to be able to frame large schemes, with the prospect of seeing them mature. Manchester and Mr. Moberly are both equally to be congratulated on their opportunity."

We take this opportunity of extending a very warm welcome to the Vice-Chancellor elect, for throughout the twenty-six years of its history there has been a very close and intimate relationship between the University and the John Rylands Library. Sir Adolphus Ward was one of the original trustees of the Library, and down to the time of his death took a great personal interest in our affairs. Sir Alfred Hopkinson was governor, trustee and Chairman of the Council for many years, and still retains an interest in the Library as one of the continuing trustees. Sir Henry Miers as trustee, governor, and for the past five years as Chairman of the Council has served the Library with untiring devotion.

On Friday, the 2nd of October, a farewell presentation was made to Professor Tout, on behalf of colleagues, old pupils and friends in all parts of the world, as a mark of their esteem, on the occasion of his retirement from the position of Professor of History and Director of Advanced Studies in History in the University of Manchester, and on the seventieth anniversary of his birth. The presentation took the form of a volume of essays in mediæval history[1] written especially in his honour, in grateful recognition of his work as teacher, scholar, and counsellor during the thirty-five years of his tenure of the Chair of History which he vacates. The volume is a worthy tribute to a distinguished scholar, which will give peculiar satisfaction to one with such exacting standards as Professor Tout, since so many of the essays are the work of old pupils, who have only ceased to work under his official direction within the last few years. These essays lose nothing of their value by appearing side by side with the work of scholars whose names are better known. The editors of the volume are Mr. A. G. Little and Professor F. M. Powicke, who made the presentation on behalf of the subscribers.

PRESENTATION TO PROFESSOR TOUT.

The Chancellor of the University (the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres), who presided over a large and distinguished gathering held in the University buildings, said he was proud to preside over an assembly at which this volume was to be publicly handed to Professor Tout. It was a volume which reflected his own personality and his own high ideals. In the first place, it was the result of personal and original research. In the second place, it was essentially an example of what they might call team work. The contributions were from those who had drawn their inspiration from his leadership, and who had, in this instance, successfully combined to produce a noble tribute to the inspiration aroused by Professor Tout's personality, and the work he had done extending over many years.

The long bibliography with which the volume concludes was a labour of love on the part of Mrs. Tout, whose name, by the special request of the subscribers, was associated with their homage.

Professor Tout, who was deeply moved, caused much amusement by describing the "burden" of his life during the long period of the

[1] "Essays in Mediæval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout." Edited by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke. Manchester: Printed for the Subscribers, 1925. 8vo, pp. x, 432, with portrait.

preparation of the book, owing to the almost irresistible temptation of curiosity with which he had had to struggle. He said he felt moved by so deep and genuine an emotion that he could only express haltingly and inadequately his appreciation of the laborious work in which so many had joined in their desire to show their acknowledgment of what little service he had been able to render them.

He took it that their gift to him was in part an expression of their appreciation of the school with which he had been associated for more than a generation. He did not claim all the credit for that school. A great deal of work had been done before he came, and a great deal had been done since. But he did feel that the one thing he had attempted to do was to build up the School of History at that University. It had only been possible to build up such a school by team work, and it was only by further collaboration, he insisted, that the school could be made what it should be.

When he first came to the University it was mentioned to him with pride that they always turned out one honours student at least in history. During his first two years they had two. Then came a phenomenal time when they turned out five, and this had gone on until they now turned out sixty a year. It was a real satisfaction, Professor Tout concluded, to think that in this great commercial city, in which education was regarded mainly, perhaps, from the merely practical point of view, they had managed to found a school in which certain aspects of historical research were dealt with more adequately than anywhere else in this little island of ours. He appealed to them to continue the work, so that the school might be enlarged not only in a material sense but in a real spiritual sense.

The gathering was a striking testimony to the extent of Professor Tout's influence. Speaking particularly of Professor Tout's old pupils, Professor Powicke pointed out that of the twenty-nine contributors to the volume, eleven were old pupils, and that of the subscribers the old pupils numbered about a half. The old pupils had a very distinct attitude of their own. They were scattered all over the world and formed a sort of mystic society rather than corporate body. There were many present who had never seen each other before and who might never see each other again, and yet, having come under Professor Tout's influence, they would always feel conscious of something which bound them together.

PROFESSOR TOUT AND THE J.R.L.

The removal of Professor Tout from Manchester, has occasioned his retirement from the Council of Governors of this Library. Professor Tout, at the time of his retirement, was the sole surviving Representative Governor, who had been appointed to that seat by Mrs. Rylands in 1899; consequently he had been actively associated with the Library from the time of its inauguration. During those twenty-five years Professor Tout took a deep and personal interest in the affairs of the Library, and rendered inestimable service in the building up of the history section, which owes its present state of efficiency to his initiative and guidance. As a mark of appreciation of the invaluable services which he has rendered to the Library during his long term of office, and as the only honour which it is within their power to confer, the Council of Governors have appointed Professor Tout an Honorary Governor.

Professor Powicke has been appointed a Representative Governor, in succession to Professor Tout.

THE RENDEL HARRIS LIBRARY

Dr. Rendel Harris, who for eight years had been attached to the staff of the John Rylands Library, as curator of manuscripts, relinquished his post in September last, to the great regret of his colleagues and the numerous other friends he leaves behind him in Manchester. He leaves us, not because he has lost his affection for us, or for the great city with its famous library, where, avowedly, he has spent eight of the happiest years of his life, but in response to a very cordial invitation extended to him by his old friends at Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, to return to the Settlement, with which he had been so actively and honourably associated throughout the early years of its development, and where his ripe scholarship and wise counsel will be a source of inspiration and strength for years to come.

It was in 1917 that Dr. Harris accepted our invitation to join the staff of the Rylands Library, upon his retirement from the position of Director of Studies at the Woodbrooke Settlement, which had been established in 1903 by Mr. and Mrs. George Cadbury, as a settlement, where members of the Society of Friends and others might have the opportunity of qualifying themselves morally, spiritually, intellectually and experimentally for any service to which they might feel called. From small beginnings this settlement grew and expanded,

with the enlightened assistance of the founders, and under the wise direction of Dr. Harris, who raised it to a position of such great efficiency and influence, that it was soon attracting students from all parts of the world, representing between forty and fifty nationalities.

As the influence of the Settlement grew new avenues of service opened out, to meet which a number of other colleges grew up around Woodbrooke, in which training for sunday school, agricultural, missionary, and a wide range of other religious and social workers was provided for. Each college is independent of the others, having its own board of management, though they are all definitely bound together by a Central Council of the Selly Oak Colleges.

Hitherto, these colleges, though associated through the Central Council, have had no central buildings for administrative and other purposes, and in order to meet this need the building now known as "The Rendel Harris Library" was purchased through the generosity of Mr. George Cadbury, Junior, and adapted and equipped by Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cadbury, to serve as a reference and research library, in which provision is made not only for the proper accommodation of books and manuscripts, and for those who desire to consult and study them, but for class rooms, common rooms, and administrative rooms for the Central Council of the colleges.

The formal opening and dedication of the Library took place on Friday, the 9th of October, in the presence of a large and notable assembly of supporters of the movement, with whom were the Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Barnes), Mrs. Barnes, and the Rylands Librarian, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. W. Hoyland. Sir Frederick Kenyon, Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, in declaring the building open, spoke of the qualities that should characterize the student or the man of learning as being not very alien from those of the scholar whose name was attached to that library. The first was thoroughness, another quality was sincerity, and coupled with that should be disinterestedness. It was unnecessary to say that those qualities were found in Dr. Rendel Harris. They knew how those virtues of thoroughness, sincerity, and disinterestedness, coupled with an unflinching search for truth, had characterized him; and they knew also how he had added alertness of mind, a spirit of adventure, an ingenuity and a fertility of thought which were peculiarly his own. The Bishop of Birmingham also paid a warm tribute to the scholarship

of Dr. Harris and described the gathering as a testimony to the affectionate admiration which he had inspired. Dr. Harris's scholarship, said Dr. Barnes, was full of gaiety ; he made the arts rich with laughter. His erudition and ingenuity had for them all a charm. They were there to express their admiration for "the doctor's" service to scholarship, and their thanks that he had made his library a nucleus for what they hoped would become one of the most important libraries of the area.

The new library at present contains some twenty to thirty thousand books and manuscripts, the chief part of which consists of the books, manuscripts, and papyri of Dr. Harris, numbering upwards of 7000. It is particularly rich in Oriental and Western manuscripts, including a considerable number of Syriac and Arabic texts of exceptional importance, which have been specially collected in the East by Dr. Mingana.

The library which, as already stated, is for reference and research, is intended primarily for the use of the students of the associated colleges, but it will be made available to any genuine student for purposes of reference, or who may wish to explore the riches of its manuscript collection, which are likely to attract students from near and from far, as soon as eir importance is realized. In this way a laboratory for theological, historical and literary investigation, on the lines of the John Rylands Library, is being provided for students in the Midlands, through the enlightened generosity of the Cadbury family, in honour of our friend and former colleague.

In the evening a gathering of past and present students and friends was held at Woodbrooke, at which the writer was given the opportunity of paying his tribute to the value of Dr. Harris's work during his sojourn in Manchester, where his ripe and varied scholarship had been of inestimable service in developing the resources of the Rylands Library, and in helping to realize the founder's aim of establishing there a home of scholarly research.

It was a happy thought of the Cadbury family to commemorate the worth and work of Dr. Harris in this acceptable and permanent form, whilst he was still able to hear the approving cheering words, and have his heart thrilled and made happier by them. Too often we keep the kind things we mean to say sealed up until our friends are dead. In this case we have been permitted to say them whilst our friend is still with us to have his life sweetened by them.

Since the publication of our last issue, we have shipped to Louvain the twelfth consignment of books collected under the scheme of restoration inaugurated by the Governors of this Library in 1914, which consisted of 68 cases, containing 6,671 volumes, including the spendid collection of Oriental and general literature bequeathed to his *Alma Mater* by the late Bishop of Salford. This consignment carries the total number of volumes which have passed through our hands, and which have already been transferred to their new home, to the substantial figure of 55,782.

LOUVAIN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

Now that our aim, of securing for our friends at Louvain a collection of at least 50,000 volumes, has been so abundantly realized, we feel that those of our readers who have so generously assisted us to obtain that result, will be interested to know how and by whom these volumes have been contributed.

To that end, we have prepared a short report, which is printed in another part of the present issue, in which we have recalled the circumstances which led up to the proposal, and the steps which were taken to carry it into effect. This is accompanied by a complete list of the contributors, who number nearly seven hundred.

Since that report was written we have received from Dr. Theodore W. Koch, Librarian of the North Western University at Evanston, who has taken a very active interest in the American scheme of reconstruction, a very welcome intimation that the sum of a million dollars for which our American friends originally appealed, with which to provide the building in which to house the new library at Louvain, is now not only assured, but that a further sum has been obtained which will enable them to provide the authorities of the University with a sum of $125,000, with which to create a trust to provide for the upkeep of the building.

We congratulate our American friends upon the splendid success which has attended their bold undertaking.

Dr. Mingana, in the course of his examination of the Rylands collection of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, has made yet another discovery of great importance. In this instance it is an official document which shows that the early Caliphs extended to their Christian subjects a very complete policy of toleration and protection.

ISLAM'S PROTECTION OF NESTORIAN CHRISTIANS.

The document, which we reproduce in facsimile, accompanied by an English translation, is a contemporary copy of a charter of protection granted by the Abassid Caliph Muktafi II. in 1138 A.D., to the Nestorian Patriarch 'Abdīshō' III., which throws light upon the relations that existed between official Islam and official Christianity at a time when Islam had power of life and death over millions of Christian subjects. It proves beyond the possibility of doubt that, however imperfect official Islam may have been in some of its social aspects, statutory intolerance was not among its defects.

The Caliph of Baghdad who granted this charter states that he is following in the steps of the first four Caliphs after the Prophet, and is copying the model of all the 'Abassid Caliphs, his predecessors. The note of tolerance that runs through it is, therefore, that of all the Muslim Caliphs, and not of one of them only.

The text of the charter is preserved as a model of good Arabic composition, in the heart of an anthology compiled by Ibn Ḥamdūn, who died in 1167 A.D. The compiler informs us that it was composed by his own brother, evidently the one called Abu Naṣr, the Secretary of the Caliphs, who died in 1150 A.D.

It was peculiarly appropriate that the discovery of this interesting document should be made known at the time when the hereditary spiritual chief and temporal head of the Nestorians, the Patriarch Mar Shimun XXI., a young man still in his teens of years, is in England completing his education. In view of its importance we decided not to delay publication until January, when the next issue of the BULLETIN was timed to make its appearance, but to issue at once (in October) preprints of the article. The great interest which this publication has aroused in the East has amply justified our action.

The "Manchester Guardian" gave publicity to the discovery by publishing in its columns the complete text of the translation. This, we are informed, was cabled verbatim to Baghdad, where it was translated back into Arabic, and widely circulated throughout the East, by the press, within a very short time of its appearance here.

AN AUTHENTIC VERSE OF 'UMAR KHAYYĀM.

As we go to press Dr. Mingana announces to us yet another discovery which will be of some interest to lovers of 'Umar Khayyām. In the Rylands Arabic MS. No. 482 Dr. Mingana has discovered an apparently unique work entitled *Nukhbat as-Shārib* . . . , "The Drinker's

choice draught and the Horseman's hasty meal," which consists of about five hundred *Rubā'īyyāt* or quatrains. It is anonymous, but that it was written between 1258 and 1282 A.D. is borne out by the fact that the author has dedicated his work to 'Alā'ad-Dīn 'Ata Malik, son of Bahā'ad Dīn Muḥammad Juwaini, the famous author of *Jahān Gushā*, who died in 1282 A.D.

The third quatrain is quoted in Persian as from 'Umar Khayyām and is followed by an Arabic translation by the author. The quatrain contains a complaint that God should find fault with his own work and destroy it, and begins: *Dārandah Chū tarkīb*. This verse is not included in the versions of Nicolas or Fitzgerald, but is said by Heron-Allen to be found in the transcript of the Calcutta MS. used by Fitzgerald, No. 69 (with considerable variation). This quotation by a writer of the 13th century proves that the famous verse is genuine and authentic, and actually emanates from the pen of 'Umar Khayyām himself.

THE STATURE OF OUR LORD.

Dr. Rendel Harris, in an interesting article which he contributes to the present issue, reopens the question of the personal appearance of our Lord, and seeks for a reply to the enquiry: "What was the actual height of our Lord according to the measure of man?"

The question was reopened by a quotation in an early Christian document recently brought to light by Dr. Mingana, and published in our last issue. Following up this clue Dr. Harris, in the course of his exploration of the early Fathers and the apocryphal writings, has unearthed some interesting, if not startling, evidence of a definite tradition as to Christ's stature, accompanied by an actual numerical statement, which suggests that our Lord was of small stature, and of not more than five feet two inches in height.

TINDALE COMMEMORATION EXHIBITION.

An exhibition of manuscripts and printed books to illustrate the history of the transmission of the Bible through the various stages of its eventful history, from the original texts and early versions down to the "Revised Version" of 1881-85, was arranged in the main reading room, and opened to the public on the 2nd of December.

The principal purpose of the exhibition was to mark the 400th anniversary of the publication of the first printed English New Testament, translated by William Tindale direct from the original Greek,

the printing of which was completed sometime in the month of December, 1525; but it also enabled us to reveal to students and to the public generally something of the riches of the collections from which the exhibits were drawn, and the wealth of material which is available in the library for the study of the Bible in all its aspects.

A descriptive catalogue of the exhibition was prepared and published for sale, in which the entries are fully annotated. Prefixed to the volume is a sketch of the history of the transmission of the Bible, extending to fifty-nine pages, which is illustrated with twenty fascimiles of the principal versions, together with a portrait of Tindale. The volume is sold at eighteen pence net (postage three pence), copies of which may be had from the librarian or from the regular agents.

PUBLIC LECTURES.

The following is a list of the public lectures (the 24th series), which were arranged at the commencement of the present session, for delivery in the hall of the library. The lectures commence respectively at 7·30 p.m., and 3 p.m.

EVENING LECTURES.

Wednesday, 23rd September, 1925. "Apollo's Birds." (With lantern illustrations.) By J. Rendel Harris, Litt.D., LL.D., D.Theol., etc.

Wednesday, 14th October, 1925. "The Apostle Thomas in North India." By J. Nicol Farquhar, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th November, 1925. "New Light on Lucretius." By J. B. Postgate, Litt.D., F.B.A., Fellow and sometime Senior Classical Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge; President of the Philological Society and of the Classical Association.

Wednesday, 2nd December, 1925. "William Tindale: the First Translator of the Bible into English from the Original Languages." By The Librarian.

Wednesday, 9th December, 1925. "Elijah and Jezebel: The Conflict with the Baal of Tyre." By A. S. Peake M.A., D.D., etc., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th January, 1926. "A Graeco-Roman Tragedy." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., D.Litt., Dott. Univ., F.B.A., Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th February, 1926. "The German Mind since the War." By C. H. Herford, Litt.D., Honorary Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th March, 1926. "The Working Man in English Literature, 1775-1892." By H. W. C. Davis, C.B.E., M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

Wednesday, 14th April, 1926. "Molière and Life." By S. Alexander, M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of Philosophy in the University of Manchester.

AFTERNOON LECTURE.

Tuesday, 29th September, 1925. "Natural Religion: A devotional address." By J. Rendel Harris, Litt.D., LL.D., D.Theol., etc.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The additions to the shelves of the library during the year 1925 numbered 7147 volumes. The following titles represent a selection of the works which have been obtained for the library since the publication of our last issue, and will serve as an indication of the character of the additions which are constantly being made in the various departments of literature with a view of increasing their efficiency.

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HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY: Curzon of Kedleston (Lord), "British Government in India: the story of viceroys and government houses," 2 vols., 8vo; Dangeau (Marquis de), "Journal publié en entier pour la première fois . . . avec les additions du Duc de Saint Simon," Paris, 1854, 19 vols., 8vo; Darling (M. L.), "The Punjab peasant in prosperity and debt," 8vo; Parkes (Joan), "Travel in England in the seventeenth century," 8vo; Bagot (J.), "George Canning and his friends, containing hitherto unpublished letters, jeux d'ésprit, etc.," 1906, 8vo; Cockburn (Lord), "An examination of the trials for sedition which have hitherto occurred in Scotland," 1888, 2 vols., 8vo; Hall (Hubert), "British archives and the sources for the history of the World War," 8vo; Langlois (C. V.), "La vie en France au moyen âge, de la fin du 12me au milieu du 14me siècle d'après les romans mondains du temps," 2 vols., 8vo; Colleville

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The gifts to the library during the year 1925 numbered 888 volumes, and included many most welcome additions to our shelves, which it would have been impossible to obtain through the ordinary channels of supply.

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DANTE AS ARTIST.[1]

BY THE EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, K.T., F.R.S.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

YOU will recall the famous passage in the *Vita Nuova* where Dante, sitting alone on the first anniversary of Beatrice's death, describes how he was drawing the picture of an angel. He turned his head, being conscious that bystanders were watching him. They were people of importance to whom a courteous greeting was suitable, and it appears they had been there some time before Dante realised their presence. He rose, and said simply "Someone else was with me—hence my meditation." And when they were gone Dante set himself again to his work "cioè del disegnare figure d'angeli." Let me quote Dante's own words :—

"In quel giorno, nel quale si compiva l'anno, che questa donna era fatta de' cittadini di vita eterna, io mi sedea in parte, nella quale ricordandomi di lei, disegnava un angelo sopra certe tavolette: e mentre io 'l disegnava, volsi gli occhi, e vidi lungo me uomini a'quali si convenia di fare onore. E' riguardavano quello ch'io facea; e secondo che mi fu detto poi, egli erano stati già alquanto anzi che io me n'accorgessi. Quando li vidi, mi levai, e salutando loro dissi; altri era testè meco, e perciò pensava. Onde partiti costoro, ritornaimi alla mia opera, cioè del disegnare figure d'angeli. . . ."

We think of Dante as poet, theologian, astronomer—as historian and satirist, as mystic or statesman, but this faint indication of Dante as artist is seldom noted, for it suggests few of those dilemmas or controversies so pleasing to the commentator. How Dante drew angels on his tablets—how Beatrice must have been the model. . . . "Questa non è femina, anzi è uno de' bellissimi angeli del cielo . . ." these elusive references in the autopsychology of the *Vita Nuova*

[1] A lecture delivered at the University of Manchester, Manchester, on Wednesday, the 21st October, 1925, under the auspices of the Manchester Dante Society.

have made small appeal to students; and yet something can be learned from considering the *Divina Commedia* in the light of contemporary art and in a lesser degree as to Dante's own influence on the artists of his day. In any case certain passages in his writings, few in number but significant in analysis, fully justify the claim that Dante must rank as the earliest historian of Italian Art. His observation was certainly acute, and in his terse descriptions of nature one can almost detect the pleasure of definition: but he paints rivers, birds, rocks, mountains and towns, as illustrations to his arguments rather than for their own sakes. To us landscape has become an integral and individual aspect of art, almost independent of other externals. Though Dante's study of flora and fauna was intimate, and almost microscopic, he hesitated before nature as a unit. In this he did not differ from his contemporaries unless it were that he saw more than they: but in 1300 the intellectual impact of nature was light. There was little to correspond with the prevailing curiosity, one might almost say the inquisitiveness about geography—the feeling that there existed unknown but discoverable lands—what Dante called the unpeopled world beyond the sun (*Inf°.* 26, 117). The immediate point, however, is to note that Dante's eyesight was cultivated and his visual memory exact. He was equipped to watch the movements of his day.

And what was the position in 1300? How many and how recurrent are the golden ages of Italian literature and art! In that year of Jubilee Villani visited Rome, impressed by its history as recorded in Vergil, Sallust and Lucan. He reached the conclusion that Rome was a declining city, that Florence was rising in fame, and he therefore decided to write the history of the latter. Little of Florence, as Dante knew it, survives to-day. Its palaces had not emerged except as a Bargello or a Palazzo Pubblico then just begun. Its streets were sequences of fortified towers. The little town of Lucca had 300 of them. Santa Croce and the Cathedral were in process of erection, while the great Bell-tower, the "notabile campanile e di gran costo" was not built. Though the city walls had just been extended, Florence was still small and overcrowded, but the expansion of her architectural dignity was rapid, and was accompanied by a great intellectual revival. One must acknowledge that Dante's censorious verdict does not conform to what we assume Florence to

have been. To us the fresh and brilliant renaissance which marked the age of Giotto, Dante and Niccolò Pisano, of Can Grande, Marco Polo and Boniface VIII., is not only picturesque but inspiring. Dante judged with greater severity. To him the outstanding features of Florence were its feuds and fanaticisms. The largest single incident in the *Divine Comedy* is where Cacciaguida, Dante's great-great-grandfather praises his own generation at the expense of Dante's. It is a passage of sustained eloquence and fire. Cacciaguida recounts the simplicity of life, the modesty of dress, the unity of purpose—in short the peace and tranquillity of his time. What is in form the portrait of family life in 1150, is in substance Dante's harsh assault upon his native city in later times—a veritable tirade which concludes with Cacciaguida's prediction of Dante's exile, and the pressing injunction that he should write the Vision.

It is not only in these three Cantos of the *Paradiso* that Dante the innovator shows deep and passionate respect for the past. He looked on Italy as descendant in race and successor in title of the Roman Empire. The earlier Popes had already reaffirmed the continuity of Roman Laws, the employment of the Latin tongue, their right to crown and invest the Emperor. Dante in his treatise *De Monarchia* traced the Imperial power to its Roman progenitor, but argued that the ultimate sanction rested with the Deity rather than with His vicar on earth. Dante's devotion to Vergil is a tribute to the classical times of Rome as well as to the fame of the poet; and Dante is somewhat sparing in references to famous writers of the old world. He knew no Greek—so Marsilio Ficino tells us (in the Proemio to the *De Monarchia*), and Grecian lore and history supply many names but curiously few characters in the *Divine Comedy*. Vergil on the other hand was the object of intense hero worship, he was in fact assimilated into Italian theology—almost Christianised, and if Raphael does not place him with Dante in the *Disputa del Sacramento*, Vergil has at least a place of honour in the Vatican Parnassus. It was to the study of Vergil that Dante ascribed his own distinction in poetry :—

> "Tu se' lo mio maestro, e'l mio autore :
> Tu se' solo colui, da cu'io tolsi
> Lo bello stilo che m' ha fatto onore."
>
> —(*Inf.* I., 85.)

Profound as was Dante's respect for the past, he was sensitive to every phase of contemporary life. If the *Inferno* contains what we may call the politics of the *Commedia*, the *Paradiso* embraces its theology, and the *Purgatorio* the most valued reflections on literature and art. Here we find the chief references to painting, sculpture, music and illuminations; and of those the best-known passage is where Cimabue and Giotto are contrasted. The older painter had thought himself supreme, but his pupil won pre-eminence, thus casting his master into obscurity :—

> "Credette Cimabue nella pintura
> Tener lo campo: ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
> Si che la fama di colui oscura. . . ."
>
> —(*Purg.* XI., 94.)

Modern research tends to dethrone Cimabue, even to the extent of disproving the charming story of the triumphal procession which accompanied the Rucellai Altarpiece to its home in Santa Maria Novella. Painting and story alike are now transferred to the credit of Siena. Moreover, it is shown that no authenticated work by Cimabue has survived, though half a dozen signed panels by Margaritone d'Arezzo, gaunt and uncouth affairs, give a clear impression of the earlier master. Florence in fact at that period had not secured precedence in pictorial art: it was in Rome and Siena that the most vital schools flourished. But if Cimabue be surrounded by a network of ill-founded tradition, none the less Dante's statement in the *Purgatorio* is explicit. It was written within a short time of Cimabue's death and cannot be dismissed offhand. Nor is there evidence that Dante shared Vasari's weakness for undue praise of Florentine artists, and it is possible that later exaggerations may have their source in Dante. It is said that Cimabue ("di bellissima presenza," as Ghiberti described him) had actually taught drawing to the poet. What would Dante have learned? Cimabue himself was engaged for important commissions at Pisa and Assisi, and if we treat him as type of the period, we can safely say that he made substantial progress. He would be among the first to make an effort to shake off the mannerisms of the debased School of Byzantium, "quella goffa maniera greca" as Vasari justly termed it—in other words a conventionalised treatment of accepted themes, even of individual figures, which had been standardised into unchanging

formulæ. The Canon of Art had become a tyranny. Invention was so much discouraged that the painter was little more than a copyist, and as time went on the original model, being more and more defaced sank into increasing decay. The moribund symbolism of Byzantium was a source of degeneracy—what a contrast with Dante's which was vivifying ; and we may credit Cimabue and his contemporaries with the earliest effective struggle for freedom in painting. But emancipation required long effort, and we must not underrate Cimabue because success was slow. Even the genius of Giotto left painting in a situation relatively lower than the poetry of the *Commedia*. What for instance will be found in Giotto's angels to compare with the tenderness of Dante's ? In Cimabue they are stiffer than his human figures—one might almost style them liveried retainers : in Giotto they are sometimes so emphatic as to be distractions. Dante anticipates the cherub of the Umbrian Renaissance—he longed to see "questa angiola giovanissima," and instead of visualising Death as the grim and often repellent figure of the Trecento, he summons him gently to his side, and exhorts Death to be kindly, considering that he had so lately visited Beatrice : "Dolcissima morte vieni a me, e non m'esser villana, perocchè tu dêi esser gentile, in tal parte se' stata." The Angel of Death is almost identified with the Angel of Life.

But Giotto's position is incontestable among the founders of Italian painting, as was freely recognised by those who immediately followed Dante. Boccaccio for instance, a sincere admirer of them both, and a shrewd observer of the arts, says that Giotto redirected art towards light. Ghiberti also recognised his abandonment of the Greek or Byzantine tradition, and his revival of learning lost for many centuries. "Arrecò l'arte nuova, lasciò la rozzezza dei Greci . . . fu inventore e trovatore di tanta dottrina, la quale era stata sepolta circa d'anni 600." Cennini generalised the same opinion, ". . . Giotto rimuto l'arte del dipingere di Greco in Latino, e ridusse al moderno"—a more perspicacious compliment than Villani's, that Giotto was greater than any of the painters of antiquity. Giotto nationalised Italian painting.

Of technical influences upon Giotto, that of Pietro Cavallini was doubtless the most insistent : but one is also inclined to trace that of Dante in the psychology of some of the principal paintings. Giotto's Inferno is closely allied to the conception of Dante, who is credited

with having secured for his friend the invitation to work at Ravenna: and there seems no reason to doubt the statement of Benvenuto da Imola, the earliest of the professional commentators of the Divine Comedy, that Giotto and Dante were on intimate terms during the decoration of the Arena Chapel at Padua. This great scheme was executed for Enrico Scrovegno, son of Rainaldo whom Dante placed among the usurers in *Inferno* XVII. It has both been alleged and contested that Dante during this visit to Padua inspired Giotto with a taste for allegory, and that the virtues and vices of the chapel were the firstfruits of their intercourse (Lord Lindsay, II., 27).

What were the relations, or perhaps one should say the analogies between the art of Giotto and that of Dante, between the pictorial and poetic inspirations? The disparity of the two arts is not such as to preclude comparison, though one must remember that whereas the text of the *Divine Comedy* is authentic, the frescoes have been restored and in some cases sophisticated beyond recognition. But Giotto asserts himself in spite of the cloud of restoration which so often obscures our view. His simplicity or rather his simplification arrests attention. His composition is succinct. The episode is handled in a straightforward manner and one is never at a loss to read his whole story at a glance. Giotto's angels all weep or smile in unison, and his company is surprised or grieved or rejoicing all at once, being infected by the same emotion. Dante, too, gives the impression of clear-cut emphasis, but the more one examines the passage the more subtle it becomes and the more recondite are its implications. Dante was the real observer of nature, not Giotto, who, indeed, could only see trees or rocks in a dry and summary fashion without Dante's love of landscape as such. Nor is it possible to claim for Giotto, still less for the work of his pupils, which is frequently ascribed to the master himself, that certainty and confidence of handling which is so typical in the *Comedia*. There is nothing experimental in Dante's presentment. Benvenuto da Imola says that Dante supplied Giotto with the scheme for the Apocalypse at Naples. One must now allot the majority of these Giottesque frescoes to imitators and assistants, but in any case they seem to lack the decision and exactitude of the poet. The Last Judgment is often a jumble, a mere crowd where the number of figures is multiplied as far as space permits, in order to expand the scale of the miracle. Fra Angelico paints his saints in battalions. In

pictures of the Inferno painters were probably more influenced by the Dantesque model. The scenes of torture, pestilence, fire and sword, the fiendish and grotesque cannibalism, the studied vindictiveness of the whole conception, are frankly revolting in pictorial art: but at least the ferocity is anonymous and was justifiable as a public warning, which displayed the varied types of malefactors and punishment. The *Inferno* however names the victim, often enough accentuates his crime, and thrusts the delinquent into damnation without right of appeal. The *Comedia* of course was a book, a manuscript, and might be looked upon as a private and personal expression of opinion until John Neumeister of Foligno issued the *Editio Princeps* to the world in 1472. But Dante's pen gives a more acute sense of horror than the brush of the most truculent painter. Dante's angels provide a happy foil to the callousness alleged against the *Inferno*, for they breathe a sense of reality more vital than in Giotto or Niccolò Pisano, whatever be their angelic rank or function—sometimes grouped in orders or spheres, as guardians, messengers, mediators, sometimes marshalled and organised, sometimes active or symbolic. The angel which Dante drew sopra certe tavolette was a living presentment, but at the same time angelic. And in this connection we may note that only one Christian woman is placed in the *Inferno*, Francesca da Rimini, whose tragedy so deeply afflicted the poet, that as one spirit told him its story while the other wailed with grief, Dante was overcome with emotion, and fell fainting to the ground like a corpse :—

"E caddi, come corpo morto cade."
—(*Inf.* V., 142.)

Dante lived in a transitional period and helped to make it transitional. He witnessed far-reaching developments in the State and University, and in the Church as the result of the Œcumenical Councils, and of the stabilisation of the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Moreover he assisted in the final emancipation of sculpture and painting. By 1300 artists had popularised sentiment in religious painting. They could no longer tolerate the high-bred aloofness and the staid gestures of the earlier style,—that immobility of countenance and hieratic stiffness which not only precluded vivacity of treatment, but were incompatible with the homely and domestic scenes which in a Franciscan sequence portrayed the life-mission of the Saint. Drama

was demanded. Its lesson had to be direct and readily understood, while here and there a lighter touch was not held amiss. Giotto's canzone on the Franciscan doctrine of poverty is full of humour, and by no means lacking a spice of agreeable malice. Notwithstanding tradition I sometimes fancy that Dante himself was not wholly sympathetic towards the Franciscans: at any rate St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bernard and St. Benedict, take precedence of St. Francis throughout the *Paradiso;* in fact St. Francis only figures in a subordinate rank, and it is Bonaventura who directly represents the Greyfriars. Dante was immersed in high politics, which led to his disconsolate wanderings over Italy—"exsul immeritus" as he signs one of his letters—and he seems to have been more impressed by the imposing statesmen of theology than by the humbler, but none the less effective exponent of Christian virtues. And while for many years Dante gazed back at Florence, frowning at times and censorious, but never quite concealing the tenderness of affection for his native city, he composed the *Comedia* in a spirit of uncompromising severity—does he not smile but once throughout its long course? Yet it is relieved by lyric passages of supreme quality. It is here that the poet far excels the painters of his day. The *Dolce stil nuovo* of the poet, bursting forth as love inspires, had not approached maturity in the painters. Buonaggiunta of Lucca abruptly asks if he is looking upon the man who composed the sonnet beginning "Ladies that have intelligence of Love":—

> "Ma di' s'io veggio qui colui che fuore
> Trasse le nuove rime, comminciando
> Donne, ch'avete intelletto d'Amore?"
>
> —(*Purg.* XXIV., 49.)

"Yes," says Dante, "I am indeed one of those who take note *quando amore spira.*" "Such," replies Buonaggiunta, "such is the *Dolce stil nuovo*" which had eluded him and his contemporaries—and having said this he relapsed into silence as though contented. . . .

> "E quasi contentato si tacette."
>
> —(*Ibid.*, 63.)

Giotto and Duccio lag far behind the standard of Dante's sweet new style. The only Italian of the period one can compare with Dante on terms of equality is Niccolò Pisano the sculptor: but before turning to

the art by which Dante was perhaps most attracted, let me refer to the Poet's portrait in the Bargello at Florence, ascribed from time immemorial to Giotto, but now (in strict accord with precedent) given to some dull person in his entourage.

The Peace of 1301 which was forced on Florence by Boniface VIII. with Charles of Anjou as intermediary, is the subject of large scale frescoes in the Capella del Podestà in the Bargello. It is a combination of religious and secular episodes. Dante, Corso Donati, Brunetto Latini and an unidentified figure—all of them life-sized—form a group of onlookers. The painting is in very bad order, for the building has twice been on fire; it was subsequently remodelled, then suffered from two or three centuries of neglect, and the fresco was finally smothered with a coat of plaster. In 1840 permission was obtained to uncover the painting. Aubrey Bezzi and Seymour Kirkup disclosed the portrait on 21 July; but Marini the painter who was helping to remove the plaster, had driven a nail into the wall to secure some scaffolding, and it was ultimately found that the nail had pierced Dante's left eye and the upper part of his cheek. With some difficulty Mr. Kirkup contrived to visit the Chapel by himself, and he made a careful tracing of the Dante as well as a coloured drawing. This very fine version of a historic portrait which has now been practically destroyed, has fortunately been reproduced by the Arundel Society. Dante was dressed in green, red, and white, the mystic combination in which Beatrice first appeared in the *Purgatorio*. . . .

> "Sovra candido vel cinta d'oliva
> Donna m'apparve, sotto verde manto
> Vestita di color di fiamma viva."
>
> —(*Purg.* XXX., 31.)

The colouring of Dante's clothes was doubtless what the poet had chosen more than five centuries before. "I suoi vestimenti sempre onestissimi furono," says Boccaccio; but alas! in the forties these innocent hues had acquired a political complexion. They had in fact become revolutionary. The picture was hurriedly repainted, and as we see it to-day, quite apart from the colouring, is a poor travesty of the noble lines preserved in the Kirkup drawing. As to the portraiture, we may be confident that it is accurate, for it conforms closely with the authentic death-mask. When painted, Dante would

have been some five and thirty years old ; but Dante always leaves the impression of being older than his actual years : for instance the text of *Inferno* V. does not convey that Dante was younger than Paolo Matalesta or Francesca da Rimini. There he stands in Kirkup's tracing, in some ways very true to Villani's description—"this Dante was a little haughty and shy and disdainful" ; and if in this strong face one sees the faculty of keen analysis, perhaps of cold and cutting reprisal, there is a calm outlook and perhaps also a strain of melancholy, as memories crossed his mind of Beatrice, who lived in heaven with the angels and on earth with Dante's soul.

When this great portrait was again seen by the warm-hearted public of Florence, the cry went up "l'Abbiamo, il nostra poeta!" There was a feeling that at last something of the very man had been recovered, for little remained to Florence except his tiny birthplace—"in questa casa . . . nacque il divino poeta." Dante had been proscribed, persecuted, exiled, condemned to death ; had perished in a distant city ; and the remorse of Florence not then shewn for the first time, was enhanced by the fact that other portraits of the poet had been allowed to perish. Lorenzo Monaco is said to have painted one in Sta. Trinità. There may have been two in Santa Croce, perhaps one by Taddeo Gaddi ; and unquestionably another by Giotto, so well known according to Vasari that when Michael Angelo's funeral service was held in San Lorenzo, among the cartoons illustrating Florentine art was a canvas shewing Giotto carrying a portrait of Dante after this original. Michael Angelo was a good deal influenced by Dante. He was credited with the bas-relief of Ugolino now in Florence, and likewise with a long series of marginal illustrations in a printed *Commedia* of 1481. Condivi states explicitly that the Leah and Rachel of the *Purgatorio* inspired the figures of Active and Contemplative Life on the Tomb of Pope Julius. The Sistine Chapel has many analogies with the grim side of the *Commedia* —neither poet nor painter was much addicted to smiling—and Michael Angelo (who had himself smarted beneath the harshness of Florentine rule) offered to design a monument for Dante's grave. Pietro Lorenzetti at Pisa, Orcagna and Michellino at Florence, Signorelli at Orvieto, Raphael in the Vatican, are among those who sought themes from Dantesque inspiration. It is not my purpose to trace these analogies through later art, and one must be careful not to over-rate

in any degree Dante's influence upon his contemporaries in painting. The *Commedia* can only have been known to a fraction of his countrymen. But it may be remarked that with the death of Giotto the standard of progress in Italian painting was checked. There was no technical decline; on the contrary proficiency steadily grew, but it was not accompanied by the refinement and spiritual expansion which should have sprung from the massive combination of Dante and Giotto. In Orcagna, for instance, drama is over-strained. The delicacy of the *Vita Nuovo* and the Arena Chapel is absent—witness his angels who are so much obsessed with their tragic duties as to lapse into sheer grimace. In fact a century and a half elapsed before the *Dolce stil nuovo* so well established in the *Commedia* found its full counterpart in Filippino Lippi and Botticelli. The latter made a long series of Dante illustrations,—the *Inferno* overcharged and tiresome, the *Purgatorio* simplified and tolerable, the *Paradiso* concentrated unified and superb. He got very close to the spirit of the *Vita Nuova*, and with the influence of Savonarola making its impact upon all Florence, Botticelli is perhaps the artist most capable of treating such a theme. Though lacking the robust and bellicose temperament of the *Inferno*, nobody could better encompass the mournful occasion of Beatrice's death, when the sun was overclouded and the stars shewed themselves of such a colour as to make Dante think they cried out in sorrow ". . . le stelle si mostravano d'un colore che mi facea giudicare che piangessero." Birds fell dead in their flight—" gli ucelli volando cadessero morti," and there were earthquakes. Botticelli, too, brought the angels of heaven into the daily life of the people, yet preserving all the reticence of the *Vita Nuova*. Like Dante he must often have returned after interruption to his work, ". . . opera cioè del disegnare figure d'angeli,"—and he has left us the wistful faces, but withal the intense aspiration and the ardent quietism of what Dante would have called *la gloriosa donna della mia mente*. With Perugino and his school the angel grew younger; with Cimabue they were so elderly. The Umbrians drew their angels walking across the heavens or moving with the very semblance of the act of flight, poised floating or suspended in their native element, and always adorned with the mild and unquestioning serenity of youth. And if we skip a century or two the angel again changes aspect, youthful still, but a *putto*, an *amorino*, a cupid or some mischievous yet lovable little

fairy; and one could well applaud Metastasio or Goldoni if once in a way they had been taken by surprise when drawing the picture of one of these very modern latter-day angels.

One reason why Dante's appeal is so widespread and far flung lies in the fact that he was both modernist and reactionary, looking forward and backward too, living alike in the present and the past. One sees this in his deep reverence for Vergil and other classical writers, though passionately devoted to the *lingua volgare* of his time. He admired the great days of the Roman Empire, the imaginary golden age. . . .

"Lo secol primo quant'oro fu bello!"
—(*Purg.* XXII., 148.)

While the *Paradiso* begins with the magnificent prayer to Apollo, yet so sensitive were Dante's scruples that never once does he rhyme the name of Cristo with anything less sacred than the name of Cristo Himself. There are curious passages in the *Commedia* which illustrate the essential patriotism of his outlook and his attachment to every link which united Imperial Rome with the Florence of 1300: these references to the statue of Mars are worth noting in connection with a study of Dante as artist. In *Inferno*, XIII., the nameless suicide who hanged himself in his own house indicates Florence as the city which exchanged its patron Saint, replacing Mars by St. John the Baptist: and he repeats the ancient legend that Florence could never have recovered from the devastations of Attila had not a fragment or glimpse of the old statue of Mars, been visible by the Bridge. . . .

"E se non fosse che'n sul passo d'Arno
Rimane ancor di lui alcuna vista."
—(*Inf.* XIII., 146.)

Cacciaguida, too, makes it clear that tradition associated the statue with the prosperity of Florence: Buondelmonti had been murdered in its neighbourhood:—

"Conveniasi a quella pietra scema
Che guarda il ponte, che Fiorenza fesse
Vittima nella sua pace postrema."
—(*Parad.* XVI., 145.)

Pietra scema means a reduced or mutilated stone, perhaps the worn fragment of the original, or else the base of the statue which protected (or as I prefer to read the word, which faced) the bridge; and

Florence in effect offered a sacrifice during the last interval of peace she had enjoyed so long ago. In another passage Cacciaguida when describing Florence as he knew it, mentions the statue as a geographical point of measurement: he says that in his day the number of men who could carry arms was but a fifth of the number in Dante's time. Florence extended "tra Marte e'l Battista"—from the Arno Bridge to the Baptistery of St. John, say a diameter of 600 yards. A fanciful explanation is that the phrase is chronological, and measures the period between paganism and Christianity, though why either St. John or Mars should be taken to begin one epoch or to end another is very obscure. The simple reading is the best, and is fortified by the mingled fear and affection aroused by this relic. What can have been the nature of this ancient Deity which played so strong a part in the sentiment of Florence? Villani and Boccaccio suggest without any serious authority that the figure was equestrian. Neither of them ever saw it, nor indeed is there evidence that in Dante's time it was more than a fragment: he even makes Cacciaguida who lived a century and a half before, refer to it as a *pietra scema*, probably the stone base which may have maintained its identity by some inscription. The original figure would presumably have been marble or bronze. As to its later history, Villani and the Anonimo commentator concur in saying that the flood of 1333 swept it away, and a later hand adds to the text of the Anonimo that it fell into the Arno and remained there many years. Let us infer from this last sentence that the *pietra scema* was ultimately dredged up from the stream, and perhaps even to-day though unrecognised and neglected amidst the sylvan divinities of the Boboli Gardens, is none the less restored to Florence, still looks towards the River Arno, and exercises a beneficent sway in the cause of prosperity and peace.

I refer to this legendary sculpture to show how Dante's mind was attuned to the Antique. The only sculptor mentioned in the *Commedia*, which abounds in allusions to painters, architects, illuminators and musicians, is Policreto, as Polucleitos was called in Tuscan idiom. Dante's knowledge of this great but almost archaic genius, was of course derived from Cicero, Pliny, Quintilian and many other writers, who had recorded his fame. His reputation was traditional, or one should say conventional, just as Apelles and Pheidias represent painting and sculpture in Andrea Pisano's reliefs on the Campanile at

Florence. Dante had no direct or personal knowledge of Greek Art, and Italy possessed few object lessons, for classical sculpture even including its Roman developments was practically non-existent in his day. It is truly astonishing how high a percentage of the statuary, say in the Vatican or the Baths of Diocletian has been excavated since Dante's lifetime. This is abundantly proved in the current literature and correspondence on such subjects. Brunellescho was told by Donatello about some classical urn at Cortona and was greatly pleased with it, but Vasari suggests that its interest lay in its rarity alone, such things being scarce before the digging mania set in, ". . . cosa allora rara, non essendosi dissotterata quella abbondanza che si è fatta ne' tempori nostri." Sabba del Castiglione was an amateur of antiques, and complained that owing to their scarcity he was compelled to buy a work by Donatello! Dante's knowledge was drawn from history and his appreciation was founded on sentiment. The ruined temples of Imperial Rome had been converted into quarries or Christian churches: the amphitheatres and baths had become the glorious homes of inglorious squatters, yet their massive lines strove to resist assault, reflecting the grandeur of the Empire, and stimulating Dante's innate nationalism. I think, moreover, that Dante was particularly susceptible to plastic aspects of interpretation. He saw forms in their plastic sense, and conceived them as though he had visualised their structure and dimensional values. The episodes of Francesca da Rimini, of Count Ugolino, and perhaps most of all the conversation with Pia de' Tolomei. . . .

> "Ricorditi di me, che son la Pia:
> Siena mi fe, disfecemi Maremma," . . .
>
> —(*Purg.* V., 133.)

All these and others which could be quoted seem almost to indicate that their sculpturesque outlines were embodied before his very eyes. His rugged and abrupt phraseology suggests a scene hewn out of marble and casting deep shadows, rather than the soft modelling and colour gradations of a painted canvas.

Apart from Dante's reminiscences of the old statue of Mars, there are only four effective references to sculpture in the *Divine Comedy*, and of these the passage about the fabulous statue at Crete is purely symbolical—a colossus made of gold, silver, brass, steel and clay, based of course upon the image described by the Prophet

Daniel (*Inferno*, XIV., 103). Again the huge bronze pinecone now in the Vatican Court, is only mentioned as analogous in size to the face of the giants who surrounded the Ninth Circle. . . .

> "La faccia sua mi parea lunga e grossa
> Come la pina di San Pietro a Roma."
> —(*Inf.* XXXI., 58.)

It is a magnificent and indeed a most interesting antique, of which the legendary vicissitudes would form an instructive study. Much more important are two lengthy descriptions in *Purgatorio*, X. and XII., of bas-relief and figured pavement illustrating Humility and Pride. The scenes of humility are upright reliefs—*exaltabitur:* those of pride are abased on the ground—*humiliabitur*. In these cantos Dante exposes his entire theory of plastic art.

There were two phases of sculpture in Dante's time : one the slow-going traditional style, rather gaunt and unprogressive—this was the prevailing type ; on the other hand the brilliant and surprising work of Niccolò Pisano, one of the great emanations of Italian æsthetics, and the only artist of the thirteenth century who can be justly compared with Dante. The ordinary sculpture with which Dante was familiar resembled contemporary painting in many ways. One aspect, associated with the family of Cosmati, was the employment of mosaic as a governing motive, and though much Cosmatesque work was purely pictorial, a great deal was plastic. The Cosmati seem to have established a prosperous family concern, aided of course by a well-organised *bottega*, and from the year 1200 or earlier, until the end of the century, they and their imitators produced masses of decorative work : some of it graphic, much of it devoted to the ambone, altar, pulpit, Pascal candlestick, and so forth, while later on they developed into sculptors on a large scale. The tombs of Stefaneschi, Durandus, Aquasparta and Gonsalvo are all really important monuments, conceived on big lines, but in every case decorated with shining mosaics. Nothing could be more efficient than their craftsmanship, but there was always the danger that the plastic art would be submerged in the decoration, and that the architectural elements of a tomb, and actually the planes of a sculptured figure, would be compromised by the desire to secure good surfaces for the incrustation of coloured cubes. The Cosmati who were most active in Rome exercised an indirect

influence on the sculptors of Tuscany, and throughout the thirteenth century there was a decided taste for mosaic embellishments on the bas-relief : at this stage the free-standing statue had scarcely emerged. The normal sculpture familiar to Dante was the slowly-evolved advance from Gruamons, Deodatus, Bonamicus, and Benedetto Antelami, who was the leading Italian sculptor of the twelfth century. It cannot be said that general progress was as rapid in sculpture as in painting, and even about the year 1300 dull and uninspired carving still passed muster for plastic art. But synchronous with this archaic and almost degenerate output, Niccolò Pisano was producing work of such superlative merit as to revolutionise Italian sculpture. Suddenly in 1260 the great pulpit at Pisa was unveiled ; in 1265, the year of Dante's birth, the contract for the equally famous pulpit at Siena was signed, and it was finished when Dante was three years old. One is almost inclined to look upon Niccolò Pisano as a prodigy, a giant like Dante who unexpectedly produces a finished and authoritative achievement, towering above his contemporaries and laying down examples from which succeeding generations will be wholly powerless to depart. We know little of Niccolò. Little if anything of the output of his first fifty years can be identified, and Tuscany became aware without warning of a genius at once spontaneous and mature. He was probably Apulian by birth and it is quite possible that his early training took place at the Court of Frederick the Second, who tried to revive Imperial splendour in his castle at Capua. Niccolò had certain affinities with classical art, and one can trace adaptations from old models so exact as to verge on copies. Moreover he was susceptible to Gothic influences of the North—Wessex and France at that time being in advance of Tuscany in scale sentiment and technical efficiency of the sculptured art. Not only did Niccolò Pisano progress far beyond the halting efforts of his contemporaries in painting, while the old schools of sculpture still continued unabashed and confident, but he made a contribution from which each art has profited ever since—namely, the fixation of biblical type and episode. Up till 1250 there were few accepted renderings of accepted beliefs, and it was fitting that divergence and contradictions should be checked in art as in theology. Yet although Niccolò Pisano laid down no hieratic canon, for he was no partisan, his crystallisations met with ready and almost universal acceptance. But one must not assume

that his influence was immediate. His works in the first place were uncommon. Communications were bad, travellers few, reproductions at that date were scarce, and there was always a certain reluctance for one town to learn lessons from a neighbour with which as often as not it was at war. Dante at any rate when anxious to interpret a dream, could circulate his poem to well-known poets of his day, *famosi trovatori*, and having saluted all those faithful to the Dominion of Love, "Io salutassi tutti i fedeli d'amore . . . ," he could ask for explanations and in return he received many and diverse replies. With the sculptor the process of enlightenment was slower and more laborious: and it was not until Giovanni Pisano had amplified his father's teaching, assimilating northern ideas while retaining a certain hold on classical tradition, that the full measure of Niccolò Pisano's power was manifest. Meanwhile the migration of the Papal Court to Avignon broke the continuity of the Roman school of art, which had maintained a varying but unbroken existence throughout the Christian era. Siena and Florence then took the lead, Venice, Bologna, Milan, Perugia, Naples, each in their turn claiming precedence, and never again did Rome, though hospitable to every phase of art, possess any school of her own.

In the lowest circle of the *Purgatory* the sin of pride is chastised and the virtue of humility exalted. Dante introduces very few actual examples from his own time and relies chiefly on ocular demonstration by means of three bas-reliefs: the Annunciation, David dancing before the Ark, and the incident of Trajan and the Widow. Let me describe these fine paraphrases. In the first place they are made of marble, *marmo candido* (X., 31), and he mentions a figure of gleaming whiteness, *biancheggiava* (72). We may therefore conclude that the sculpture was not Cosmatesque, and certainly not polychromatic: in itself a mark of Dante's fine æsthetic reluctance to combine two arts to the detriment of each. The scenes are direct presentments of the episode, for he uses the word *storia* and *storiata* three times (52, 71, 73) and the narratives were legible in their plastic as well as their symbolic connotation, the term *immagine* being used four times in various forms (39, 41, 62, 98). And we must presume them to have been in bas-relief from their position on the steep containing-wall or *cornice* which bounded the narrow path along which Vergil and Dante walked. Michal, the sister of Saul, is *effigiata* at the palace window

(67). A difficult problem arises from the word *intagliato* which is used three times (32, 38, 55), in fact it is the only word describing the technical process of the sculptor. The intaglio is of course incised, a delicate art usually associated with gems or precious stones, and indeed Dante compares the relief of the Annunciation with the impression of a seal upon wax, so faithfully were the words "Ecce Ancilla Domini" conveyed by gesture and pose. We must, however, remember that appellations of artists were very vague at this period, and as late as 1423, in the Orvieto contract, Donatello is styled *intagliator figurarum:* moreover the line "un'altra storia nella roccia imposta" (52) should remove all doubt as to the sculpture being low relief.

In each of these plastic scenes, Dante insists upon their verisimilitude to life: so true were they that not only Polucleitos but Nature herself would have been put to shame—

". . . non pur Policreto
Ma la natura li avrebbe scorno."
—(*Purg.* X., 32.)

The Angel of the Annunciation does not look like a speechless statue, but seems to formulate his message: one could swear that he said *Ave:*—

". . . non sembiava immagine che tace.
Giurato si saria ch'ei dicesse, Ave."
—(*Purg.* X., 39.)

The relief of David is rather more complex, as the composition embraces two scenes and a cross motive. The cart bearing the ark is draw by oxen and surrounded by choirs, and leading the procession was David the humble psalmist, girded with a linen ephod, "Trescando alzato, l'umile Salmista" (X., 65), both less and more than kingly in his action. In the background the Princess Michal "comè donna dispettosa e trista" (69), watched David dancing and despised him in her proud heart. Dante is bewildered as he gazes on the relief. Are they singing or are they not? His eyes say that incense is burning, his nose denies it: so vivid so convincing are the impressions, that three of his senses, sight, hearing and smell, are contradicting one another. Finally we see Trajan with horsemen around him, and the poor widow by his bridle imploring vengeance for her dead son. She seems to speak, the Emperor seems to answer; the whole dialogue is

indicated by the eloquent nature of the carving. "Await my return," says Trajan.—"But if you do not come back?"—"Then someone will act in my place."—"And how will that satisfy your conscience," she asks—"Content yourself," replies the Emperor, "my duty shall be done before I resume my journey."

> "Ond'elli: Or ti conforta; che conviene
> Ch'io solva il mio dovere, anzi ch'io muova."
> —(*Purg.* X., 91.)

Dante has been in a trance, spellbound: twice he is urged forward by Vergil, so absorbing were these "immagini di tante umiltadi." (X., 98).

The tenth circle of the *Purgatorio* describes the bas-reliefs of humility. The eleventh, beginning with the grand paraphrase of the Lord's prayer, is notable for the famous passages about Oderisi the miniaturist, Cimabue and Giotto, and Guido Cavalcanti. The twelfth canto illustrates historic examples of pride and its punishment engraved on the pavement. Vergil tells Dante to gaze upon the ground "per tranquillar la via" (14). Then follows a passage of which the construction is far from easy, nine lines which compare the pictures on the pavement with memorials placed on graves. Attempts have been made as is frequently the case with similar obscurities, to extract some theological meaning in order to explain phrases which are abstruse or apparently unrelated to the context. There may of course be corruptions in the text, though in this case there are few recorded emendations. These lines begin with a simile covering six lines about graves, governed by the word "COME," then follow three lines governed by the word "Sì" which refer to the pictures underfoot:—

> "COME, perchè di lor memoria sia,
> Sovr'a' sepolti, le tombe terragne
> Portan segnato quel ch'elli era pria:
> Onde li molte volte se ne piagne,
> Per la puntura della rimembranza,
> Che solo a' pii dà delle calcagne;
> Sì vid'io lì, ma di miglior sembianza,
> Secondo l'artificio, figurato
> Quanto per via di fuor dal monte avanza."
> —(*Purg.* XII., 16.)

As grave mounds (*tombe terragne*) above those who are buried (*sepolti*) bear records (*portan segnato*) for memory's sake of those

who once lived, causing many tears through the sting of remembrance (*puntura della rimembranza*) which only spurs the pious heart, so saw I there figured (*figurato*), so much of the roadway as the projection of the mountain permits, but of better likeness or appearance (*miglior sembianza*), according to the craft or craftsmanship (*secondo l'artificio*). The passage presents several intricacies. The reference to the tombs bearing records or cyphers (*portan segnato*) is taken by Lombardi to mean sculptured effigies—"scolpito nella soprapposte lapidi." But can *segnato* really mean as much? Philologically it would be more truly read as marked or certified, and flat earth-tombs seldom shewed anything but inscriptions or portraits of the deceased. On the other hand the word is used three times in this canto (38, 47, 63) in a purely pictorial sense, which seems to justify Lombardi: The *segno* of Rehoboam no longer threatens,—Dante sees Niobe "*segnata* in su la strada," and the *segno* of Ilion portrays a sorry spectacle. Then we reach two crucial phrases—"miglior sembianza," and "secondo l'artificio,"—better likeness or appearance, but better than what,—better than nature, better than the bas-reliefs, or the *tombe terragne*, or as Bagioli suggests, of divine origin? As to the words "secondo l'artificio," Venturi suggests: "in accordance with the correct rules of sculpture," which is unsatisfying, as nothing of the sort existed at Dante's date. All the last three lines beginning "So saw I there figured on the road" must refer back to the earlier paragraphs, in contrast of grave-mounds with their effigies. The comparison therefore is between the craftsmanship of the records on the pavement with that of the records on the tomb slabs. If this be correct, Dante is indicating that the lineal pictures were more vivacious (*di miglior sembianza*) than what was usual on grave-stones. His description of the bas-reliefs, undoubtedly suggests a standard of art far in advance of the normal sculpture of his day, and though he does not praise the pavement scenes with the lavish enthusiasm bestowed on the marble reliefs, he means us to understand that the workmanship of the former was exceptional. What he saw in *Purgatorio* excelled anything on earth.

Later on Siena Cathedral became the home of a vast series of similar representations, and one cannot doubt that from 1370 onwards, when the enterprise began, artists must have studied this canto. It is difficult to draw analogies between the two. Dante's "duro pavimento"

(XII., 49) was clearly marble or stone. The Siena cartoons are rendered in several methods, of which the earliest was the incision of outlines which being stopped with some dark and durable material would give the impression of a drawing. Dante does not hint that the cartoons were coloured, whereas the fifteenth century work at Siena is a skilful intarsia of variegated marbles, and has almost the richness of a painting. But Dante was familiar with large scale mosaics and also with coloured pavements. Some few pavements dating back to the Empire may have survived, and in the twelfth century Southern Italy shewed a strong preference for decorated floors, and the practise spread rapidly in the peninsula. As a rule they were purely geometrical in pattern with only an exceptional figure, for instance where the Signs of the Zodiac were displayed. *Opus Romanum*, mosaic in its most extended order, and marbles inlaid into patterns were the normal fashion, and nothing existed at that date to correspond with the ambitious scale of Dante's graphic scenes. He permits himself a concluding word of praise. Was there ever such a master, he exclaims, who could thus portray the shadows and features. . . .

> "Qual di pennel fu maestro e di stile,
> Che ritraesse l'ombre e i tratti . . ."
> —(*Purg.* XII., 64.)

Cary translates *pennel* as pencil. Oderisi of Agubbio the illuminator, says that the sheets or *carte* of Franco Bolognese smile more brightly than his own—

> ". . . più ridon le carte
> Che pennelleggia Franco Bolognese."
> —(*Purg.* XI., 82.)

This seems to suggest colour, or at any rate brushwork, and Dante draws attention to the shadows indicated on the pavement. *Stile* is rendered Stylus by Cary, the pointed implement for engraving or incision. Lombardi and Baldinucci for reasons which are not apparent, but which must have been cogent, suggest the mediæval *stilus*—"una verghetta sottile," a thin rod, two-thirds lead and one-third tin, used for the first sketch by those who wish to draw with a pen (*penna*). Perhaps we need not enquire too closely into the technical processes of the pavement, contenting ourselves with the fact that Dante's conception was great, and that he anticipated an art which for two centuries conferred distinction on successive craftsmen of Siena.

Dante devoted special care to the poetic construction of these descriptions of the pavement. The passage in fact is unique in that it is built upon precise and rather singular principles. I wish we had his own analysis like those of the *Canzoni* in the *Vita Nuova*. Twelve histories of pride are described, beginning with Satan and proceeding alternately with examples from Classical history and the Old Testament. Each episode occupies three lines: they fall into three divisions of four episodes apiece. The episodes of the first group invariably begin with the word VEDEA, of the second group with the exclamation O, and in the third group with MOSTRAVA. Finally the humiliation of Troy is added in three lines, which resume the previous initial words:—

> "VEDEVA Troia in cenere e in caverne
> O Ilion, come te basso e vile
> MOSTRAVA il segno che li si discerne."
> —(*Purg.* XII., 61.)

There is something solemn in the gloom of this sustained counterpoint: it conveys the very atmosphere of depression, the triple schedule of tragedy, each heralded by the muffled note of its own passing bell:—Satan, Briareus, Timbræus, Nimrod—Niobe, Saul, Arachne, Rehoboam—Alcmæon, Sennacherib, Thomyris, Holofernes.

Neither here nor in the bas-reliefs does Dante draw any illustration from contemporary life—nothing in fact after the Birth of Christ. Here they are types or examples, elsewhere some of the personages reappear as individuals. But we may ask how Dante made his choice, for some of the illustrations seem inappropriate. Niobe and Arachne appeal to us as objects of commiseration. When sorely wounded by the arrows of the Philistines, Saul committed suicide in Gilboa, and would be more suitably placed in *Inferno*, XIII. Alcmæon was a demented matricide. Sennacherib was quietly worshipping in the Temple when smitten by his two sons: Holofernes was tricked, drugged, and slaughtered by Judith. But Dante's selections are often odd and sometimes quite arbitrary, and he certainly did not embark upon the *Commedia* with a classified and ready-made list of names allocated to each of the three Canticles. Hence many contradictions and not a few paradoxes. In this case Dante happens to have been much more concerned with the poetic form than with the personnel: and in this canto taken in conjunction with the tenth, Dante sets himself to lay down his theory of æsthetics. Dante's supreme test is

truth: truth in likeness, in gesture, in action. Around him he saw sculpture and painting in which the actors explain their meaning by scrolls or inscriptions. Dante did not visualise parables demanding such elucidations. He saw the likeness as what we now call the speaking likeness, as visible speech which was almost miraculous to his eyes . . .

> "Produsse esto visibile parlare,
> Novello a noi, perchè qui non si truova."
>
> —(*Purg.* X., 95.)

Nature herself was challenged by the bas-reliefs. The angel was so true as to seem endowed with speech—"non sembiava immagine che tace" (39). The dead were dead, the living seemed alive—"morti li morti, e i vivi parean vivi" (XII., 67). Stress is throughout laid on this same degree of excellence. The Roman standards flutter in the sky, the incense and the singing, the movement portraiture and characterisation, all are drawn or modelled with intent to truth. Dante was himself something of an artist, who knew the obstacles as well as the happiness of striving after an ideal.

Having compared Dantesque standards with those of Giotto, it may be well to refer to Italian sculpture—not indeed of 1300, but of thirty or forty years earlier when Niccolò Pisano exposed his masterpiece at Siena. Niccolò relied mainly on reliefs. If anything they are somewhat congested, there being a tendency to multiply accessories, and from time to time to trust to embellishments. It is true there were few signs of the laborious construction found in Dante's own contemporaries among painters and sculptors alike: nor did Niccolò Pisano have to enlarge his figures to convey a sense of majesty. Dante's descriptions mark an advance on Niccolò's practise. He is more reserved, less pictorial, and shews greater concentration and emphasis. The fact that Niccolò Pisano was so much older than Dante adds greatly to his supreme position. And it was long before the unflinching survey and outstretched mind of Dante found its full counterpart in the sculptor who was always undismayed, and whose powers of execution never hesitated in embodying his ideals. Vergil urged Dante onwards when he lingered in admiration of the bas-relief shewing Trajan and the Widow—for the sculptured images of such humility were pleasing in themselves and also for their craftsman's share.

> "E per lo fabbro loro a veder care:"
>
> —(*Purg.* X., 99.)

Dante did not take the workmanship for granted—his synthetic intuitions led him to understand the difficulties, for was he not *fabbro* himself? "Io mi sedea in parte . . . disegnava un angelo sopra certe tavolette." He was working on panels or tablets, perhaps what would correspond with the painter's block. He was so deeply absorbed in his work that people came into the room unnoticed, and stood watching him for some time, so they also must have been impressed. Nor was it a mere sketch in a note-book, for several of the visitors were able to overlook his shoulder; and then after their departure he returned to his work—"cioè del disegnare figure d'angeli"—*figure* meaning the figures and not only faces of angels. We derive the impression from the whole passage that he was in the habit of drawing, and he refers almost casually to what passed in order to explain the sonnet suggested to his mind by the incident. But this chance allusion to the actual painting does not indicate that he thought lightly of his art. This is belied by the whole *Commedia*, still more by the treatise *Del volgare eloquio*, in which his reforming zeal, fired by his intense nationalism, shows his passionate aspiration towards the fine art of language. He seems to have been the protagonist in this field of reform. Moreover his desire for progress and his appreciation of it, is clear in every description of a work of art. To Dante and his contemporaries resemblance was progress. In his time, notwithstanding the Bargello portraits resemblance was seldom attained—resemblance that is to say where analysis and characterisation are the partners of modelling or draftsmanship—witness the portraits of Boniface VIII. (of whom there were more portraits than of any man of the year 1300)—often quite lifeless and inept such as Bonanno's archaistic bronze at Bologna. Villani praised Giotto as the artist who "trasse ogni figura e atti al naturale." Perhaps nowadays Truth in art is somewhat unfashionable: from time to time she is wont to retire to the hidden depths of the well; and for the moment she may be disdained as being photographic, as mere prettiness or as academic anæmia. But I observe that all that is most aggressive in the drama of our day claims justification as realism, actuality, life. But at least truth, and every effort towards its attainment, has the merit of training the eye, or guiding the chisel or the brush. Those who attacked the Pre-Raphaelites were wrong, in that, while criticising effects as was legitimate enough, they failed to notice the profound

grasp of truth ; and once the fundamental truth is at the artist's command, vagaries or experiment cannot wholly lack merit. Dante's desire for truth was deep-seated, but for novelty of interpretation as well, for progress with the help of originality. One detects this in his argument and sympathies, even in his application of the word *nuovo* to all that pleased him most. Buonaggiunta asks him if he is the man who "trasse le *nuove* rime" (*Purg°*. XXIV., 50). Dante's eyes were intent "per veder *novitade*" of the bas-reliefs. The "visibile parlare" was *novello* a noi. Above all the Dolce stil' *nuovo* was the new spirit of poetry which he explains with tragic intensity in the book he called the Vita *Nuova.*

Tradition says that Cimabue was Dante's teacher. Antonio Pucci says the poet was "esercitato nel disegno fino della sua gioventù." Leonardo Aretino says : "E di sua mano egregiamente disegnava. . . . Dante wrote a finished hand making thin long perfectly formed letters as I have seen in some of his correspondence." And this is all we know—tradition, the statement in the autobiography, one cartoon of an angel, and that lost ! But the harmonies remain intact and intangible—poetry, philosophy, religion, with art and music added, all fused by his genius : and so his influence lives on. Have we not had three hundred translations and derivatives in our own language from Chaucer and Milton to Browning and Swinburne, and down to others still happily with us—and yet I wish one single drawing had survived, perhaps a self-portrait, perhaps (who knows) the very angel he drew on that anniversary, the angel upon whom people gazed awestruck as Beatrice passed along : "Questa è una maraviglia : che benedetto sia lo signore che si mirabilmente sà operare !"

LANCASHIRE REFORMERS, 1816-17.[1]

By H. W. C. DAVIS, C.B.E., M.A., F.B.A.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

THE subject of this paper is the political agitation, of which Manchester was the focus, in the years 1816-17. This is a piece of local history, but it has some national significance. Manchester was only one of several industrial centres in which at this time the unenfranchised working men organised themselves in clubs to discuss political topics, to lay plans for a constitutional reform of Parliament, and to hasten reform by means of demonstrations which were expected to intimidate the ruling classes. But it so happens that in Manchester, and in those parts of Lancashire which looked to Manchester for a lead, the movement was more vigorous than elsewhere, and was more carefully observed by the local magistracy. For both these reasons it seems possible to discover, from the case of Manchester, how the working men of England were influenced, in these early days of the Reform agitation, by the political teaching of Major Cartwright, William Hunt, Lord Cochrane and their understudies.

The main evidence on which I have relied for this study is to be found in the Home Office papers for the period. The relevant material consists of letters received from magistrates, the reports of informers who were in the pay of the magistrates, and the letters despatched by the Home Office to magistrates and military officers. Naturally the reports of informers call for careful scrutiny, most of all when the object of the report is to prove a seditious design. But many of the reports are altogether unsensational, such as an unimaginative police constable might furnish at the present day ; and these

[1] Amplification of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 22 April, 1925.

there is no good reason for suspecting. That some of the informers acted as *agents provocateurs* is quite possible. On the other hand the evidence does not warrant the theory that all informers pursued these tactics. To charge informers with suggesting the offences that they denounced was the obvious course for every advocate to take when he was defending his client on a charge of sedition; and it seems to me that Mr. and Mrs. Hammond are much inclined to presume the worst of all informers. I have done my best to deal with the reports of individual informers on their merits, testing them as far as possible by other sources of evidence. This seems the only safe course to pursue.[1]

A question which naturally arises at the outset is whether the Manchester movement of 1816-17 had any direct connection with other movements of which we read in the previous twenty-five years of local history. The answer must be that there is no evidence to prove such a connection. The old Manchester Constitutional Society of 1790-93 was a middle-class organisation, though it had satellite clubs of working-men reformers;[2] and in 1816 the middle-class reformers of Manchester, who were neither bold nor numerous, appear to have been completely cut off from contact with the working-class reformers. John Knight who was the secretary of the new Manchester Constitutional Society was a manufacturer in a small way. But he was the only representative of that class in the Society; and he could not induce any gentleman to take the chair at the inaugural meeting (App. No. 13). The unions of cotton-spinners, which still maintained an underground existence, in spite of the Combination Laws, do not appear to have assisted the movement in their corporate capacity, although factory-hands are mentioned as forming a considerable proportion of the audience at the debating-hall of the Manchester Society in New Islington (App. No. 25), and it was probably these factory hands who contributed to the collection made on 10 March, 1817, for the expenses of the Blanketeers (App. No. 29). It is not unlikely that some of those who had been concerned in the troubles of

[1] I take this opportunity of expressing my great obligations to the authors of *The Skilled Labourer*, whose pioneer work in the Home Office Records must be the starting-point of every enquirer in my subject.

[2] See the report, by Joseph Gurney, of the trial of Thomas Walker in 1794.

1812 took a hand in the new agitation when it assumed an exciting form. One of our reports (App. No. 15) refers to the "old Jacks" who were incensed by the arrival of a new detachment of infantry in Manchester during November, 1816. "Some of them swore it would be an 1812 job and that the point of the Bayonet was the ruling law of England at present." But if the "old Jacks" were at Ardwick, they have at all events not been identified.

We know a little about some members of the Lancashire clubs in these years. A number of them are mentioned by Bamford, others in the informer's reports (e.g. App. 13), with notes as to their occupations. Nearly all who are thus described belonged to the class of hand-workers, the weavers predominating. It was the hand-workers who suffered most from the hard times of 1816, and they were also the intellectual aristocracy of their class. They accepted the leadership of John Knight, but some of them were probably his superiors in intelligence. The most remarkable figure in the Clubs is John Browe of Oldham, who is described in one report as a journeyman machine maker. He was a class-leader, trustee and preacher of the Methodist Unitarian Chapel in Lord Street, Oldham. He acted as chairman of the meeting held on 23 September, 1816, which founded the Oldham Union Club, and he was regarded by the informers as a leading personage in the Lancashire movement.[1] In June, 1817, he and his fellow-trustee, George Wilson, fled to America, fearing to be arrested; but it does not seem that the magistrates had any definite charge to bring against him. The truth is that, in 1817, the original leaders of the agitation fell into the background and a new class of organisers came to the fore—men like Bagguley and Drummond and Mitchell who appear, from their recorded utterances, to have been much less intelligent and much more passionate than the founders of the clubs. Round Bagguley and Drummond and Mitchell the illiterate unemployed appear to have rallied in the concluding stages of the movement, at first with no intention of breaking the law, but eventually, after the apprehension of the Blanketeers, with a feeling that they were betrayed and trapped and therefore must have recourse to violence for self-protection. Their political plans and hopes are summarised in the answer, which Bamford elicited from one

[1] McLachlan, *Methodist Unitarian Movement*, p. 117.

of them, to the question what good they expected from a march to London. "Why, if wee'd nobbo gett'n to Lunnun, we shud ha tan the nation an' sattl't o' the dett."[1]

The trade depression was responsible for the vogue of the Radical programme at this time. But the Union Clubs could hardly have been formed upon a common model with a common plan of action, if there had been no experienced agitators in the background. In the early months of 1816, when the depression was at its worst, this influence had not yet come into play, and the Home Office was merely concerned about the possible effects of economic distress. In fact the troubles which occurred up to June were the sporadic and ineffective attempts of uneducated men to call attention to their want of work or to wage reductions which they thought unjustifiable. After June the symptoms became more alarming. Luddism revived in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire. In South Wales there was for a time a prospect of civil war between the iron-workers and the masters. But the most alarming symptom of all, at least in the opinion of the local magistrates and of the Home Office, was the appearance, in the hosiery districts and in Lancashire, of numerous Union Clubs, recruited entirely from the working classes, and avowing their intention to agitate for parliamentary reform. Thus the Tories saw themselves confronted with the same danger which had alarmed Pitt in 1794. The London Corresponding Society had not been revived; but in its place, guiding the country clubs by means of printed circulars and private letters of advice, there stood the London Hampden Club.

This Club, founded in 1812, was by no means democratic in its constitution. Only landowners of substantial income were admitted to membership, and the object of the Club was to stimulate a constitutional agitation for reform of the House of Commons, on lines little, if at all, more drastic than those which had been laid down by the New Whig politicians who had founded the *Society of the Friends of the People* in 1792. The annals of the Club are given in the second volume of the biography of Major Cartwright. They reveal no meetings of any interest before June, 1816. But they bear witness to Cartwright's personal activity as an itinerant spokesman of the Club.

[1] *Life of a Radical*, I., 33-34.

He made three extensive tours in 1812, 1813 and 1815 to advocate a campaign of petitions for reform,[1] and he collected a large number of signatures. He states that in Preston alone he collected ten petitions signed by 2503 persons. This was in the year 1813, when he paid special attention to Lancashire and doubtless formed some useful friendships, though he passed from place to place with great rapidity. His name was from this date inseparably connected with reform in the minds of Lancashire working men. The places which he visited in Lancashire were Preston, Wigan, Liverpool, Bolton, Manchester.[2] In April and May, 1816, as the result of his activities, a large number of reform petitions were sent up to Parliament. In June he began to use the name of the Hampden Club as a screen for a new propaganda. He published a history of the Hampden Club. He began to recommend, in its name, the formation of popular societies, with a nominal subscription, which were to influence public opinion by means of debates and open air meetings, and were also to obtain as many signatures as possible for a new petition. This plan was approved by the Westminster Radicals in August, 1816, at a meeting in which Sir Francis Burdett took a prominent part. In November a committee of the Hampden Club set to work upon the draft of a Reform Bill which it was proposed to present to Parliament at the opening of the session of 1817.

Cartwright was practically the only organiser in the field at this juncture, so far as the manufacturing districts were concerned. Though Place was busily engaged in managing Westminster opinion, Norwich is the only radical centre outside London where his influence can be distinctly traced. But Henry Hunt, who had lately come to London to extend his reputation as an open-air orator, gained much popularity by declaring for manhood suffrage—a proposal which Cartwright had abandoned in deference to Burdett and other moderate members of the Hampden Club. Much was expected in Lancashire from the Spa Fields meetings of 15 November and 2 December at which Hunt presided. He was generally regarded as the spear-head of the reform movement, and it was supposed that the "people" of London would rally to him as one man. Cobbett, especially after he had begun to publish his twopenny Register (16 Nov.) and had announced his

[1] *Life of Cartwright*, II., pp. 38-42, 47-52, 109-115.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

adhesion to manhood suffrage (23 Nov.), was thought to be the wisest head in England, the adviser to whom all the suffering and oppressed should turn for guidance.

We now come to the Lancashire movement. The usual procedure was to found each club under resolutions passed at a public meeting. The Oldham Union Club was inaugurated in this way on 23 September, 1816, the Middleton Club on 19 October,[1] the Manchester Constitutional Society on 28 October. Of the Manchester meeting we have two independent accounts. The first is a contemporary pamphlet entitled *Report of a Meeting near the Quaker Chapel*. The other is a private report furnished to Mr. Chippendale of Oldham, a leading agent of the Lancashire magistrates, by one of his informers. It is printed below (App. No. 13), and although biassed by the informer's contempt of the movement, it deserves careful study. The informer found the proceedings dull and orderly, except for the indiscretions of an anonymous veteran who was suppressed by Mr. Knight. The most curious point that he makes is the anxiety of the reformers to obtain some person of standing to act as chairman. As they did not succeed in this he assumes that the meeting had been a total failure; but he was mistaken. Next we observe that the principal delegates from the neighbourhood were already marked men. The informer gives their names without explanation, and Mr. Chippendale has no difficulty in adding notes about most of the individuals named. Thirdly it is evident that Royton, Oldham and Failsworth had already a strong interest in the movement before Manchester took it up. The agent comments on the extreme formality of the proceedings, apparently to suggest that the agitation was guided by men who could not count upon their followers. But he does not seem to realise that the only object of the meeting was to advertise a new Society whose real business would be transacted in its debating hall and in the private meetings of the committee. John Knight and his colleagues lost no time in chartering a disused spinning factory at New Islington, Ancoats.[2] This room was large enough to accommodate a thousand persons and the debates seem to have been well attended, the unemployed forming the nucleus of each meeting and

[1] See the pamphlet, *Foundation of the Middleton Union Society* (1816).

[2] The situation of the debating hall is given in *Wheeler's Chronicle* for 15 March, 1817, in the course of a report of the Blanketeers' Meeting.

the factory hands coming in when their work was done (App. No. 25). The debates were of a general character. The first subject for discussion was: "What is meant by a constitutional reform of the Commons House of Parliament?" (App. No. 5); on 3 February, 1817, it was: "Whether Englishmen answer the end of their creation?" (App. No. 25). In the second case we have a report of the debate, which was remarkable for the slightness of its connection with the subject. But in 1817 the more violent and unthinking reformers had begun to control the debates. The informants of the Home Office did not trouble to supply reports of the earlier meetings of the Society, from which omission we may infer that those meetings had been comparatively tame.

The Manchester Society, like all other clubs of its kind, had a committee whose proceedings were of more interest to the authorities than the public debates. In other places an informer sometimes managed to get himself elected to the committee. But the Manchester committee must have been on its guard; for no evidence of its activity was obtained until December, when one of its circulars, summoning a convention of delegates, was intercepted (App. No. 18). We have, however, a report of the first meeting of the Bolton Committee, on 16 November, 1816; and it is interesting because it gives us a glimpse of men who were not uneducated, who were painfully anxious to keep within the law, but who evidently were convinced that their present miserable plight was due to an unjust organisation of society. The question to be considered was whether their Club should open a debating-room. The chairman of the committee urged the members to consider all the risks to which they might be exposing themselves, if they took this momentous step. In effect, he told them, they would be preparing the overthrow of the "corrupt faction"—of the placemen, the pensioners, the sinecurists—and retaliation was of course to be expected. He begged them to state plainly whether they would undertake this arduous and dangerous task. A member replied that they had already been brought very low by their oppressors, so that life and liberty were hardly worth preserving. The rest agreed with this speaker and said that they would risk everything "for the sake of their families seeing better days." The chairman explained that the existing laws allowed them to work for a reform of Parliament; but he added that the Government

could change the laws and would probably do so—a remark which shows that the Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act of 1817 was intelligently anticipated some months before it became law. The committee decided that they would open a debating room if the present state of the law allowed them to do so ; and they instructed the chairman to obtain legal advice from Mr. Knight of the Manchester Society and from Mr. Cobbett (App. No. 4). Of Cobbett's reply there is no trace. But Mr. Knight advised the Bolton Club that their debating-room would be legal so long as the doors were thrown open to the public and no charge was made for admission. It was also desirable, he wrote, that public notice should be given of all political meetings and that a magistrate should be notified of them. Secret meetings ought to be avoided (App. No. 5). The Bolton Club was one of those represented at the Reform Convention held in London in January, 1817. But it was too poor to afford the luxury of separate representation, and combined with the Bury Club to send a joint delegate (App. No. 24).

The Clubs became really active when the Hampden Club Committee announced (2 Nov.) that a Reform Bill was in preparation. For it was stated in the announcement that the Bill, when ready, would be "submitted to any meeting of persons who may be deputed from petitioning cities, towns or other communities to confer together in the Metropolis on the best means of effecting a constitutional reform of the Commons' House.[1] This resolution was circulated in Lancashire by John Knight who requested the Clubs to take particular notice of it. Nothing definite was decided, at Manchester, or elsewhere until after the second Spa Fields meeting (2 Dec., 1816) on which great hopes were founded. Joseph Mitchell, of Liverpool, one of the most active members of the Manchester Society, went up to London to attend this meeting which, among the Lancashire Radicals, was described as "a sort of general or national council" (App. Nos. 14, 21). The visit was of some importance, as it brought Mitchell into contact with advocates of physical force, whose advice afterwards proved disastrous results in Lancashire.[2] Some inkling of

[1] Mr. Knight to Kay of Bolton, 21 Nov., 1816 (H.O. 40. 3, Hampden Clubs).

[2] Kay of Royton also went (Appendix 16 *bis*), and it was believed that many others had gone.

the intentions of Thistlewood and his confederates was abroad in Manchester before any report of the events of 2 December had come down from London. On 4 December it was currently reported that the Tower had surrendered to the sovereign people and that the notes of the Bank of England were not worth twopence each in London. The mail-coach which was due at midnight was expected to bring confirmation of this welcome news. An informer who went from Oldham to meet the mail, saw large bodies of people drifting along the dark roads towards Manchester and talking in hushed voices as they walked. Near the Bridgewater Inn, when the coach arrived, the delegates of the Clubs were conspicuous, standing together in a group about 300 strong. When they heard that all was quiet in London "their disappointment was extreme." Earlier in the evening, the informant says, he had attended a Union Committee which was drafting instructions to be circulated among the people "for converting various kinds of implements into pikes in case their friends in London had been successful." This part of the report may be a mere invention. But we have seen, from the proceedings of the Bolton Committee, what exaggerated fears were abroad as to the measures of revenge that might be anticipated from the "corrupt faction." Undoubtedly pikes were made and bought in those days by many Lancashire reformers who at ordinary times were law-abiding citizens (App. No. 16).

Six days after this disappointment the Manchester Society returned to the humdrum methods of the Hampden Club. John Knight issued a circular convening delegates of the local clubs to meet at Harpurhey, near Manchester, on Sunday the 15th of December, "to determine on the propriety of despatching a person or persons to assist other towns and places to hold and conduct public meetings for parliamentary reform and also to request the leaders of the Hampden Club to have their Reform Bill ready for presentation on the opening of Parliament" (App. 18).

This meeting was duly held on the date arranged, but at Middleton instead of Harpurhey. It assembled in a disused chapel which had been hired by the Middleton Club. Among those present (about twenty-four in number) were deputies from Cheshire and the West Riding; John Knight and Joseph Mitchell and Kay of Royton attended, and Mitchell took the chair. The minutes of the meeting,

which lasted many hours, were communicated by William Wilson, the secretary, to one of his relations who was an informer (App. Nos. 19, 20). The principal business done was the appointment of Reform missionaries to visit "all parts of the United Kingdom where the nature and cause of our distress has not been publicly asserted and its remedy insisted upon." Four missionaries were elected, and it was decided that they should travel in couples. Two of the four were obscure persons; but Mitchell himself was elected, and was given as his companion on the tour a shoemaker of Manchester, William Benbow, who was afterwards to be prominent in the ranks of Chartism.[1] Each couple received a promise of £5 for travelling expenses; but the resources of the clubs were exhausted and the money was only obtained in the end by recourse to the Hampden Club, and to some unnamed gentlemen in Manchester. Little is known about the fortunes of the missionaries. Mitchell and Benbow reached Birmingham early in January.[2] One of the other couple, Johnston of Manchester, a tailor, appeared on 15 January at Huddersfield, where he addressed a Reform meeting at considerable length.[3]

The Middleton meeting also passed a resolution urging the Hampden Club to lose no time in preparing their Reform Bill, "for it does appear that the Habeas Corpus will be suspended at Parliament's first meeting, and all the leading characters secured in the jails of the kingdom." The last business done, towards ten in the evening, was to resolve that a general convention of the Clubs of the United Kingdom should be held in Manchester to discuss the Bill and the best method of presenting it, and "to assist in bringing forth all the strength of the Unions into one point of view." Nothing came of this proposal which would have meant nothing less than transferring the centre of agitation to Manchester from London.

The treachery of William Wilson was discovered soon after this meeting and he fled to London, where, according to Bamford, he became a police-officer.[4] But the informer, by whom he had been

[1] See Bamford, *Life*, I., pp. 9, 10, 15, 20, 29, 31, 43, 167-168. Also Hovell and Tout, *Chartist Movement*, pp. 91 *note*, 138. Mr. Hovell is the first writer who made the identification.

[2] H.O. 40. 4 (Cheshire, Leicestershire, Miscellaneous No. 37).

[3] *Hay Scrap Book* (Cheetham Library), Vol. VII., p. 254.

[4] Bamford, *Life*, I., 10.

corrupted, escaped suspicion and became intimate with Mitchell and the other leaders, and was able to report the further progress of the movement. At the end of 1816 the Hampden Club sent down word that the Bill was ready, and asked that the delegates of the petitioning bodies should be in London by the 22nd of January at latest. On New Year's Day a convention representing twenty-one bodies met at Middleton and voted for manhood suffrage, annual Parliaments, the exclusion of placemen and pensioners from Parliament, the division of the country into one-member constituencies, each of 20,000 inhabitants, and the abolition of the property qualification for members of the House of Commons.[1] On 15 January a similar meeting was held, also at Middleton, which was attended and reported by the informer. On this occasion reports from the missionaries, and two letters of encouragement from Major Cartwright, were read. But the main business was to arrange how the clubs should be represented at the London Convention. It was decided to send thirteen delegates, of whom five were to be provided by Manchester. No other club sent more than one delegate; a number of the smaller clubs combined in groups, each group choosing a common representative. The list of clubs includes Sheffield, which appears to have maintained a close correspondence with the Manchester Constitutional Society. In all seventeen clubs are mentioned, but, as Middleton is not mentioned, the list may be incomplete.

The adventures of the delegates who went to London are vividly related by Bamford,[2] and need not be repeated here. The Convention, which met at the Crown and Anchor tavern, revealed the dissensions of the London leaders; Hunt was for manhood suffrage, Cobbett for a householder franchise. Hunt's view, which was also that of the Lancashire clubs carried the day; but Burdett refused to sponsor a bill or petitions which demanded manhood suffrage. Lord Cochrane stepped into the breach and on the first day of the session he was chaired across Palace Yard by a crowd of delegates. But it was only too apparent that the Convention had failed to terrify the Houses of Parliament.

Meanwhile in Manchester the proceedings of Parliament were awaited by the reformers with some trepidation. William Benbow

[1] Bamford, *l.c.* [2] *Life*, I., pp. 15-20.

electrified the audience in the Manchester debating hall (on 3 Feb.) by arguing that every Englishman had a statutory right to carry arms in self-defence (App. No. 25). Informers who frequented the Manchester public-houses collected wild rumours of preparations for street fighting, of delegates who were said to have arrived from Scotland, or who were expected to arrive from Ireland with promises of help, of delegates from Birmingham and Sheffield whom the informers had actually met, and of a Sheffield manufacturer who was offering to supply pikes wholesale to the reformers. There were expectations that the third Spa Fields meeting (of 10 Feb., 1817) would give the signal for a popular rising all over England, but this meeting was not allowed to take place.[1] The London organisers, undaunted by this blow, announced another meeting for 15 March, and it is probable, though no definite proof can be produced, that the march of the Manchester Blanketeers was organised with the intention that these petitioners should arrive in London in time to increase the confusion which the meeting was expected to produce. The grand object in view was to prevent the Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act from coming into effect.

The Blanketeer plan was first announced at an open-air meeting held in Manchester on 3 March. The purpose was to petition against the dreaded Act, which was to receive the royal assent on the following day. The meeting was a large one, but passed off without any disturbance, perhaps, as the official report (App. No. 26) suggests, because the weather was very wet. The speakers were all men like William Benbow, who were pledged to a stirring policy; but there was nothing in the speeches which gave cause for special comment. The one alarming feature of the proceedings was the announcement that the meeting stood adjourned till the tenth when it was proposed "that ten out of every twenty shall proceed with petitions to London." The meaning of this confused statement is obviously that each petition to be presented would be signed by not more than twenty persons, and would be accompanied by not more than ten, in conformity with the Act of Charles II. against tumultuous petitioning (13 Car. II. st. 1, c. 5).

The real hopes of the men who planned the march were explained

[1] Halévy, II., p. 23.

on 6 March at the debating hall by John Johnston, a member of the Committee of the Constitutional Society. Addressing those who had volunteered he said that, if their leaders could only take them as far as Birmingham they would by that time be 100,000 strong, and they would be irresistible. He also assured them that all the large towns in Yorkshire were preparing similar marches. But, he warned them, if they went unarmed they would be stopped before they had gone three miles from Manchester (App. No. 27). Fortunately for themselves the Blanketeers did not act on this broad hint. But it sufficiently explains the real alarm which the magistrates felt, and the elaborate precautions which the Home Office had already authorised for the day of the adjourned meeting.

The meeting took place in St. Peter's Fields ; the numbers present were estimated at 12,000. Sir John Byng, the general commanding the Northern District, had arrived in Manchester on the previous day and had himself arranged, in consultation with the magistrates, the plan which was followed in breaking up the meeting. It is worthy of notice that his plan, which proved eminently successful, was substantially the same as that adopted with far different results at Peterloo in 1819. Byng had to deal with a comparatively small meeting ; but his success was chiefly due to the fact that the troops which he employed were seasoned regulars who kept their heads and did what was required with the minimum of violence. Two reports of this meeting are given below (App. Nos. 28, 29). The first, written by the senior magistrate, Mr. Hay, bears a strong resemblance to the account given in *Wheeler's Chronicle* for 15 March. The second gives the impressions of one of the subordinates of the Deputy-Constable, Joseph Nadin. Here we have some fragments of the speeches of Bagguley and Drummond, the two committee-men who made themselves responsible for organising the march.

The march of the Blanketeers has been so often described that it would be merely tedious to describe it again. I may, however, point out that the most vivid account of the last stages of the march is that given by a Leek correspondent of the *Manchester Courier*. As to the action taken by the authorities it does not appear that the soldiers, or the magistrates or the Home Office did more than was required for the preservation of the peace. The instructions of the Home Office to the High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire are singularly moderate :—

> "I have to recommend that, if these persons should be found within the county of Nottingham, they should in the first instance be persuaded, if possible peaceably, to disperse and return home; or otherwise that Sureties of the Peace should be required of them by the magistrates, and that they be committed for want of the same."[1]

The number of persons committed to the New Bailey for taking part in the march was over two hundred.[2] Five of these were sent to London under warrants from the Secretary of State, being regarded as ringleaders. Nine others were sent to Lancaster to be tried on the charge of tumultuous petitioning, but were released after about five months' imprisonment, as it was doubtful whether a jury would convict. Twenty-one persons were committed to Chester gaol, of whom fifteen were released when they had taken the oath of allegiance. The other six were detained until they could find sureties. Four at least of those sent to London, John Bagguley, John Johnston, Samuel Drummond and John Knight, were committed by the Privy Council to various county gaols. The Home Office records contain the instructions which were sent to Gloucester gaol where Bagguley was confined. These have a certain interest as showing the treatment accorded to political prisoners (App. No. 32.)

I now come to the last act in the drama, the Ardwick conspiracy, which has a certain interest because of the relatively abundant evidence which we possess about it. It was never dangerous, and the Manchester magistrates, besides exaggerating its importance, made their arrests in an extremely haphazard fashion, perhaps in the belief that the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act gave them an unlimited discretion. But I am unable to agree with Mr. and Mrs. Hammond that there was no plot at all. No careful reader of Bamford's autobiography can fail to see that his fellow-prisoners were conscious of having committed acts that would not bear scrutiny in a law-court. When they were confined in the Coldbath prison they spent their time in concocting and in learning by heart what Bamford calls "the old

[1] H.O. 41. 2, p. 423.

[2] Mr. Hay's report, quoted above, speaks of 215 being apprehended in the pursuit before Stockport was reached. The number may have been swollen by later arrests; for a newspaper cutting in the Hay Scrap Book gives the total as 251. But this last figure may be a misprint.

tale" that their secret meetings had considered no other business but the relief of distressed political prisoners.[1] It is true, as Mr. and Mrs. Hammond point out, that the evidence against them depended on the word of informers, whose antecedents were far from reputable.[2] But for those of the prisoners who were not immaculate this was a piece of good fortune. Ever since the Spa Fields trials the Government had been most unwilling to produce informers as witnesses.

According to Bamford the plan of making "a Moscow of Manchester" was discussed at Middleton by himself and some of his reformer friends on the evening of 11 March, the day after the arrest of the Blanketeers. The man who announced that the attempt would be made that very night was probably an informer, as the Hammonds suggest. But it is curious that Bamford was already acquainted with the Moscow catchword and that he and his friends took it for granted that the stranger's proposal emanated from the Manchester Committee.[3] He goes on to say that secret meetings were in fact held at this time to discuss violent designs. These meetings, he says, were planned from Manchester. "Sometimes they were called Benefit Societies, sometimes Botanical Meetings, Meetings for the Relief of Imprisoned Reformers . . . but their real purpose, divulged only to the initiated was to carry into effect the night attack on Manchester."[4]

The verbal reports of the informer, Michael Hall, who had served a period as a transported convict in Australia, were summarised for the Home Office by the Borough Reeve and Constables of Manchester. These summaries give the clearest account of the secret meetings of 17 March and 23 March at which the Ardwick design was concocted. The persons present were representatives of Manchester, Oldham, Ashton, Staleybridge, Stockport, Chadderton, New Mills; but we can hardly suppose that they had been appointed in any formal manner, since the informer Hall was able to appear as a representative of Manchester. The plan discussed was a variant of the Thistlewood plan. The Reformers were to concentrate at St. Peter's Fields on the night of Sunday, the 30th of March; then there were to be

[1] Bamford, *Life* (I., 121, 127). Mr. and Mrs. Hammond appear to overlook these passages.

[2] *Skilled Labourer*, p. 350 ff.

[3] *Life*, I., p. 39.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., p. 45.

simultaneous attacks upon the barracks, the New Bailey, the Police Office, the houses of the Borough-reeve and Constables, and the banks. Possibly the main object in view was to release the imprisoned Blanketeers, and the other operations were designed merely to distract attention from the New Bailey. But the plan may have gone further than this. According to one of the informers Mitchell was in the background of the conspiracy, though not at the meetings ; and it is significant that in these critical days Mitchell called on Bamford to advise him of a plan framed by "the best friends to reform" to assassinate the whole of the King's ministers at a Cabinet dinner.[1] Violence was in the air. The weak points of the Manchester scheme were obvious. The Delegates concerned were insignificant and few in numbers—ten or twelve at the first meeting, seventeen at the second. They applied for help to Nottingham, Birmingham, and Sheffield, but had no response. They had vague and second-hand assurances that help would be forthcoming from Bury, Huddersfield and Leeds, also from the vicinity of Manchester, from "the country people." They seem in fact to have staked everything on the assumption that a success, however small, in the night attack on Manchester would be the signal for a general insurrection. Yet they admitted among themselves that two or three thousand men would be required for the night-attack ; and there was nothing to show that they could count upon a tenth part of this force. What alarmed the Home Office was the persistent rumour that the disaffected in Manchester were in regular communication with those of other industrial centres. This is shown by a circular warning which Lord Sidmouth issued on 29 March to the magistrates of Sheffield, Nottingham, Birmingham and Leicester,[2] warning them to be on their guard against sinister designs which are connected with the Manchester rising.

It would take us far afield if we attempted to discuss what the authorities ought to have done with these very ineffective conspirators. Clearly the magistrates were in a difficult position. They had a most inadequate police-force, and they were faced by what may fairly be called a tacit conspiracy, among a large section of the working-classes, to defeat the ends of justice and to make the maintenance of the peace

[1] Bamford, *Life*, I., pp. 76-77. Mitchell's name is not given, but from the context he is evidently the person who gave this information.

[2] H.O. 40. 3, p. 479.

as difficult as possible. Those who were not disposed to break the law acted as though it was no concern of theirs to give information of plots or otherwise to assist in defeating them. There were good and intelligible reasons for this feeling. It was in part the legacy of twenty or thirty years of industrial and political strife; it had been much increased by the mischievous rhetoric of men like Hunt and Cobbett, who wished to make the existing generation of capitalists and landowners responsible for the accumulated errors and injustices of centuries. But the feeling of hostility to the Government was a menace to the very existence of society. It had to be resisted, it had to be frustrated, by those who were responsible for carrying on the Government. That magistrates and civil servants and ministers of the Crown were alarmed and excited, that they committed some blunders, and used emergency powers too hastily, is regrettable but is not surprising.

In the case we are considering the Magistrates of the Manchester area fell below the current standard; and, though they were publicly defended by the Government, they were privately reprimanded. When Bamford and the seven other persons who had been arrested with him, for complicity in the Ardwick scheme, were brought to London, the Home Office complained "that they had been arrested for high treason without any depositions having first been given against them."[1] On 11 April the magistrates at last sent depositions against four out of the eight prisoners. The Home Office at once decided that two of the depositions were insufficient and discharged the men concerned.[2] On 29 April, Bamford was released on his own recognisances for the same reason. Four others—Roberts, Healey, Hulton, Sellers—were committed to gaol, as political prisoners, presumably because their names were mentioned in the reports of the meetings of the Ardwick conspirators.[3] The action of the magistrates was therefore partly upheld and partly cancelled. The letter-book of the Home Office contains a formal rebuke which was administered to the magistrates by Lord Sidmouth about the 16th of April :—

[1] H.O. 41. 2, p. 483 (Mr. Beckett to Mr. Hay, 1 April, 1817).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 536 (Mr. Beckett to Mr. Evans of Manchester, 15 April).

[3] For Healey see Bamford's *Life*, Vol. I. *passim*. His name does not appear in the reports cited in Appendix, Nos. 30 and 31; but he may have been drawn in at the eleventh hour. He was an apothecary-surgeon.

"Upon a Minute Review of the Cases of Persons belonging to Manchester and its neighbourhood, for the apprehension of whom I have issued warrants, I am to request that in future, when the names of persons, whose arrest is recommended by the Magistrates, are transmitted to me, they may always be accompanied by Depositions, stating as fully and precisely as possible the grounds upon which it has been deemed expedient to advise such a measure."[1]

THE MANCHESTER HAMPDEN CLUBS.

1816-1817.

Appendix of Documents.

(1) H.O. 41. 1, p. 263. *Mr. Beckett to the Mayor of Preston*, 16/8/16 (*Précis*).

Acknowledges his letter of the 13th "stating that a great number of persons, who have withdrawn from their employment in consequence of a reduction of wages, have been parading the streets of Preston and assembling in groups using the most threatening language." With reference to the Mayor's request for troops: "Sir John Byng who happens to be in London wrote by last night's post to order some troops to move from Manchester to Preston."

(2) H.O. 41. 1, p. 267. *Mr. Beckett to the magistrates at Bolton le Moor*, 27/8/16 (*Précis*).

Acknowledges their letter of the 22nd asking that a troop of dragoons may be stationed in Bolton, and states that their request has been referred to Sir John Byng who will give it every attention consistent with the present distribution of his forces.

(3) H.O. 41. 1, p. 272. *Mr. Beckett to Sir John Byng*, 30/8/16 (*Extract*).

"In consequence of a personal communication with Mr. Watkins, one of the magistrates acting for the Bolton district, Ld. Sidmouth recommends that a troop be detached thither from Manchester to be changed from time to time as you may think proper."

(4) H.O. 40. 3 (*Mr. Chippendale, Disturbances*, 1816-1818).

This file contains a confidential report on a meeting of the committee of the Bolton reformer's club. The report is dated 18 Nov. 1816.

"I attended the committee meeting of reform on Saterday night at the Tolbot or Sign of the Dog, Brown Street, Little Bolton. I meet with there: John Kay, Robeson Bradly, and a young man who came with him whom he called Isaac, William Orrill and Robert Hibbert; Robert Hale could not attend.

[1] H.O. 41. 2, p. 539.

"John Kay began the business by asking us if we had deliberately weighed the consequences in our own minds. He said, are you prepared to suffer persicution, separately and in your own persons for the sake of that great and good cause of reform. He said, I am convinced that the present government will never give up the <word omitted> until they can no longer hold them, and we may expect to feel the weight of the displeasure of the corrupt faction, placemen, pensioners, sinecurists, not only their displeasure but their vengeance, therefore our task is an arduous task and a dangerous one. Are you who are here willing to engage in it such as it is?

"Robeson Bradly said, I know we shall be sufferers, as it is, *I am afraid before the Winter is over.*[1] He said we are brought in to such a situation by our oppressers that both life and liberty is scarce worth preserving. They said they were all willing to risk all for the sake of their posterity seeing better days. Kay said it is legal to seek redress in the way of reform. But when Parliament meets *they can make it illegal* to meet and it is not likely that they will tamely give up their sinecures, pentions &c which they have enjoyed for yeers. He said the wicked men will rather sacrifice half the people of the nation than give it up peaceably, if they give it up it must be by force, and in their fall they will crush thousands of us. He talked a great deal about the circulating medium, & it was agreed that there shd be three letters sent from this meeting, one to Manchester,[2] one to Liverpool, and another to London or *to Mr. W. Cobbett where he resides.* The letters to Manchester and Liverpool were to be exactly the same, so that they might be able to judge betwixt them, the tenor of which is to be this, Writing to Mr. Knight & Mr. John Smith desiring them to inform us if it should be legal to take money at the door to defray the expence attending Rent &c communication, political tracts &c and to have in an answer by Saturday, so that we might assure the people that our plan was perfectly constitutional, and also to augment our members against next Saturday night, to meet at the Old Bull's Head Bradshawgate and in the mean time for Robert Hibbort was (*sic*) to see if he could procure a room to meet in."

(5) H.O. 40. 3 (*Hampden Clubs*).

This file contains a copy of letter from Mr. Knight of Manchester to Mr. Kay, Secretary of the Bolton Reformers Club, 21/11/16: "Sir, I only received your letter and <in> reply have to state that you may take a room for the purpose of discussing political or other questions (without licencing the room) provided you do not demand money for admission nor fasten the outer door during your stay but <let>people go in & out at pleasure. In a letter I received from London yesterday it is recommended that such meetings are publicly announced, that a Magistrate is informed thereof, & in addition thereto that secret meetings had better be avoided & that meetings shd be as numerously attended as possible—the Language used shd be mild & constitutional, but firm & clear. We have engaged a room here capable of holding a thousand persons. We had thought to *have opened it on Monday next*, but hoping to gain considerable numbers of the upper Classes (as they are called) by delaying it a week we have agreed

[1] Underlined in original. [2] See the reply *infra*.

to do so. We shall therefore commence our operations next Monday week at 7 o'clock in the evening by discussing the following question: 'What is meant by a constitutional reform of the Commons House of Parlt., and what are the benefits likely to result therefrom?' Our numbers are rapidly increasing and I have reason to think that is the case in the adjacent country. Inclosed I have sent you a copy of the resolutions of the Hampden Club of the 2nd inst. which you will communicate to the Society or Committee when met, noting the 3rd Resolution particularly. The same or a similar idea seems to form one of the resolutions of the Spa Fields Meeting London."

The 3rd of the enclosed Resolutions of the Hampden Cee runs as follows: "3rd. That our Chairman at the said Spring Meeting move the Association that the aforesaid draft of a Bill for Parliamentary Reform be also submitted to any meeting of Persons who may be deputed from petitioning cities, towns, or other communities."

(6) H.O. 41. 1, p. 270. *Mr. Beckett to J. Lloyd, Esq., of Stockport*, 29/8/16 (*Extract*).

Acknowledges his letters of the 26th & 27th reporting "the proceedings of the lower classes at the meetings recently held by them, and enclosing a Bill wh. you had thought it right to publish in regard to the measures in contemplation for relieving the distress of the labouring poor." Conveys the approval of Lord Sidmouth of the steps wh. Mr. Lloyd has taken, & proposes to take "in order to prevent any illegal assembly of the lower orders of the people."

(7) H.O. 41. 1, p. 289. *Mr. Beckett to the Rev. Charles Prescott and Peter Marsland, Esq., of Stockport*, 21/9/16 (*Abstract*).

Their request that a troop of horse may be stationed in Stockport has been referred to Sir John Byng.

(8) H.O. 41. 1, p. 298. *Mr. J. H. Addington to the Rev. Chas. Prescott, Stockport*, 25/9/16 (*Extract*).

"Ld. Sidmouth has learnt with concern the continuance of the distress at *Stockport* & the advantage taken of it by the discontented & disaffected, as stated in your letter."

(9) H.O. 41. 2, p. 51. *Mr. Addington to J. Lloyd, Esq., of Stockport*, 15/12/16 (*Extract*).

"It would be of great importance if a correspondence could be traced between any of the leaders of the disaffected at Stockport and persons of a similar description in London, from whence there seems to be strong reason to believe that all the mischief emanates."

Nothing seems to have been discovered at Stockport to justify this supposition.

(10) H.O. 41. 1, p. 312. *Mr. Addington to the Mayor of Wigan*, 5/10/16 (*Précis*).

Expresses Lord Sidmouth's concern at the report transmitted by the Mayor, "of the distresses of the lower orders of the people in & near Wigan,

& of the efforts making by some of the ill-disposed inhabitants of the town to excite discontents & disturbances there." The Mayor's request for a small military force has been submitted to Sir John Byng.

From a subsequent letter of Mr. Addington to Sir John Byng (p. 315) it appears that no sort of violence had been committed at Wigan.

(11) H.O. 41. 1, p. 349. *Mr. Addington to the Manchester magistrates*, 19/10/16 (*Précis*).

Acknowledges a letter & enclosure of the 17th. Ld. S. "earnestly recommends a perseverance in the judicious measure of having persons sent to the meetings wh. are held either there or in the neighbouring villages, with a view to gain intelligence of any particular facts upon which a judicial proceeding might be instituted."

With reference to their application that a larger military force be stationed in M'chester, he refers them to Sir J. Byng. "I am further directed by His Lordship to submit to your consideration the expediency of having recourse under the present circumstances to the provisions of the Watch & Ward Bill which was revived at the close of the last session of Parliament, the beneficial effects of which were abundantly felt in 1812 in different parts of the country."

The act in question authorised the forming of voluntary peace-associations, and enabled the magistrates to swear in special constables in disturbed districts.

(12) H.O. 40. 4 (Supplementary Papers), No. 18. *Extract of a Letter from the Manchester magistrates to Lord Sidmouth*, 17/10/16 (*obviously the letter answered by Mr. Addington in No.* 11).

"There is a great activity in distributing accounts of the Proceedings & Resolutions of meetings at Nottingham and Westminster, in which one Hibbert, a Linen Dealer in this town, is said to be principally concerned—and several delegates from Nottingham, Loughborough & other places are supposed to be busily employed in this neighbourhood. There are meetings at Public Houses, and a great degree of secrecy is observed in their proceedings."

(13) H.O. 40. 3 (Mr. Chippendale). *Report by Chippendale's agent No.* 2 *of the open air meeting held at Manchester on* 28 *Oct.*, 1816, *to inaugurate the Manchester Constitutional Society.*

"The meeting took place according to the advertisements viz. at eleven o'clock. At that hour there was not more than five thousand people present. The Leaders were there. A sort of platform was erected on a cart for their accommodation. They were of the lowest class as will be found hereafter. When they saw so few persons assembled & that no person of respectability joined them upon the hustings they were extremely disconcerted. The speakers began to address the assembly. Several long speeches were made by different individuals. But it was a considerable time before any person was appointed to the Chair. Deputations were despatched from the hustings to different gentlemen in the town & neighbourhood to request they wd. attend and take the chair, but in every case they met with a refusal. Informant distinctly heard the names of Mr. Rob. Phillips and Mr. Baxter, and when their refusal was

communicated upon the Hustings it produced a sensation of disappointment & concern which they could not conceal. In order to give time for more people to assemble the Speakers continued to amuse the assembly with speeches. Some of them spoke several times & this was kept up for several hours till they despaired of more numbers & gave up all hopes of prevailing upon any gentleman of eminence to take the chair. Old Knight was then made president. When the number was the highest informant is confident it did not exceed 10,000. Old Knight addressed the meeting several times. There was nothing in his expressions differing from the general tenor of their language upon other occasions & therefore informant did not commit it to memory. There were upwards of 20 persons upon the hustings, but not having counted them Informant cannot tell the exact number. The following are those whom he knew:

"Knight of Manchester, Kay of Royton, Fitton of Royton, Browe of Oldham, Haigh of Oldham, Taylor of Gledwick, Taylor Surgeon of Oldham, Mitchell of Liverpool, another from Liverpool whose name he did not know, Benbow of Manchester, Wilkinson of Failsworth.

"Knight, Kay, Fitton, Browe, Taylor Surgeon, Mitchell & the other person from Liverpool addressed the meeting. What he heard of their speeches was all in the same strain & unworthy of particular remark. Amongst the individuals upon the stage whom he did not know was an old sturdy man with a bald head whose language was so very inflammatory that he was stopped several times by Knight & ultimately suppressed. The meeting was protracted till quite dark. . . . He came home with a herd of the *Failsworth* reformists. They vented the bitterest curses & reproaches against the people of Manchester but chiefly against the higher classes. They consoled themselves by ascribing the absence of the Manchester people to the coercion of the Masters. . . . Of the number present Informant thinks one half were people from the country. . . .

Mr. Chippendale then adds the following note on the Speakers, 'Knight[1] a man of no property or character, Benbow[1] a shoemaker, Haigh[1] a weaver of Oldham, Browe[2] a journeyman machine-maker of Oldham, Kay[1] a weaver of Royton, Fitton[1] the same, Taylor of Gledwick a small farmer, Wilkinson of Failsworth a weaver, Taylor a surgeon of Royton without any pretentions above the bottom of the profession, with a corresponding rank in society, Mitchell[1] a journeyman printer of Liverpool.'

(14) H.O. 40. 3 (Mr. Chippendale). *Mr. Chippendale of Oldham to Mr. Fletcher of Bolton*, 19/11/16.

"The only information of any importance is an account of Mitchell being in London for the purpose of assisting at a sort of general or national Council." This came from Informant No. 2. "His information about Mitchell is a little meagre & I have waited in expectation that he would be able to get more particulars. That he has gone however is the only positive fact he has been able to learn, except that his object is understood among the leaders to be as before mentioned. It is certain that they are at present resting upon their

[1] See the references to these reformers in Bamford's memoirs.
[2] See *supra*.

oars . . . for they are waiting with respect to their future movements to receive their cue from the London Council. . . . The provincial leaders have long been anxious for something of the kind, for want of which they say their affairs have languished ever since the Manchester meeting."

(15) H.O. 40. 3 (Mr. Chippendale). *Report by a Manchester agent ("B")*[1] *written between on* 17 *Nov.*, 1816 (*Precis*).

Gives accounts of conversations with reformers from Nottingham and Kendal. Then describes the effect produced by the arrival of troops in Manchester. "On the 15th inst. the first division of the 85th Regiment of the Line came into our town, and on Saturday 16th the second division came, which made the old Jacks look with long faces, and some of them swore it would be an 1812 job, and that the point of the Bayonet was the ruling law of England at present."

(16) H.O. 40. 3 (Major-Gen. Sir John Byng). *Mr. Chippendale to Sir J. Byng*, 7/12/16 (*Extract*).

Describes the effect produced in Manchester by the Spa Fields meeting of Dec.

"The Public Peace has been in great danger of being disturbed in this part of the country from a cause wh. was not in my contemplation when I last wrote to you. On Wednesday last (4 Dec.) the intelligence reached this neighbourhood of the disturbances that arose out of the Spa Fields meeting in London and the public mind was thrown into a violent agitation by many exaggerated statements. Amongst other things it was reported that the Bank was destroyed and the Tower surrendered to the insurgents. The leaders went about propagating these and other such rumours & declaring that Bank Notes were not worth two pence a piece. The people assembled in groups on all sides and listened with the greatest avidity. . . . My agents were despatched in all directions for the purpose of general observation without delay. The person who was sent in the direction of Manchester found the road crowded with groups of people all the way. About midnight they began to draw towards Manchester for the purpose of learning the news brought by the Mail. My informant saw 300 in one group in a street adjoining to the Bridgewater, where the mail stops, all Delegates from the country. When the news was not confirmed their disappointment was extreme. My informant attended a committee meeting of the *Union* the same evening. They were employed in drawing up short instructions intended to distribute among the People for converting various kinds of implements into pikes in case their friends in London had met with success."

(16 *bis*) H.O. 40. 4 (Cheshire, Lancashire), No. 34. *Extract of a letter from Mr. Chippendale to "Mr. Joseph Warren"* (*i.e. Mr. Fletcher of Bolton*), 5/12/16.

"I have been out in the country in all directions all day. . . . The People are all settled to work and the leaders much chop-fallen. I have not

[1] Probably Mr. Bent, on whose activities in 1812 see J. L. & B. Hammond, *The Skilled Labourer*, passim.

been able to discover any systematic connection betwixt the Londoners and the Folks here. There was a general understanding that the country was to take its tone from the Metropolis, but that is all I have been able to trace in the nature of a connection. . . . It is understood that many individuals from this neighbourhood attended the Spa Fields meeting, but I have not been able to learn any names but Kay's of Royton. It is understood that they corresponded with their friends in the country and were sent up to give the earliest intelligence of the success that attended the attempt in London.

(17) H.O. 40. 3 (Major-Gen. Sir John Byng), No. 23. *Sir John Byng to the U.S. of S., Home Office* (*Extract*).

"Pontefract 7/12/16. . . . "From all I have heard I am lead to believe and my opinion coincides with some excellent magistrates, who I have conversed with, that there was some attempt to excite a general rising on Monday last. It was however ill understood and worse arranged. In some places the arrival of the Monday's mail was considered the signal (as at Sheffield), in others they were to rise on the 2nd, and again that they were only to be ready and await the result of the Spa Fields assembly. In most places from fear or good sense they were deterred from moving at all. It is most fortunate that the 85th Regiment was sent to me. Its arrival at Manchester, the subsequent change of quarters with the 54th Regiment, and exchanging the quarters of the troops of the 1st Dragoon Guards in Lancashire, created a sensation among the ill-disposed and gave an appearance of an extraordinary large force in that quarter, and there has not been the least appearance of riot in any of the places to wh. those troops moved."

(18) H.O. 40. 3 (Hampden Clubs), No. 18. *Circular issued by the Manchester Constitutional Society*, 10/12/16, *convening a meeting of delegates of the local Union Societies.*

"One or two of your Union Society are requested to attend at Mr. Ogden's Harpurhey nr. M'chester at 11 o'clock next Sunday forenoon to determine on the propriety of dispatching a person or persons to assist other towns & places to hold & conduct public meetings for parliamentary reform and also to request the leaders of the Hampden Club to have their Reform Bill ready for Presentation on the opening of Parlt. I am Sir yours &c.

"J. Knight, Sec.

"77 Hanover St.
"Manchester
"10 Dec., 1816."

(19) H.O. 40. 3 (Hampden Clubs), No. 18. *Mr. Chippendale to Mr. Fletcher of Bolton, enclosing No.* 18 *supra & No.* 20 *infra.*

"Since you were here I have had both No. 1[1] & No. 2.[2] The latter has brought me some very important papers. I apprised you that a meeting of select Delegates was intended to be held on this Sunday last in Manchester or the Neighbourhood. I also wrote to the Boroughreeve to the same effect thinking the place of meeting wh. was then a profound secret might be

[1] Michael Hall, the informer. [2] James Rose, the informer.

discovered by some of the police under his direction watching their motions. Early on Sunday morning the place of meeting was communicated to No. 2 in confidence. By the accompanying resolutions you will see that the first place was [illegible] Ogden's of Harpurhey, but being afraid of meeting with disturbance there they adjourned to Middleton. At Middleton the Union occupy a building for their meetings wh. was originally built for a Methodist Chapel and which now belongs to the Methodists. Here they finally met, & sat the whole of the day in full conclave to the number of at least 24; for besides the select Delegates from Manchester & the towns in the immediate vicinity they were attended by deputies from Cheshire & the West Riding of Yorkshire. The secretary to the meeting on this occasion is the particular friend & relative of No. 2. He made a copy of the Minutes after the business was over for the particular use of No. 2. From this copy wh. is in his (the Secretary's) own writing I have transcribed the copy herewith transmitted. There is not the shadow of a doubt as to the authenticity of the papers. The information is as complete as possible, for besides the resolutions he has even brought me the private memorandum of the Secretary which he made from time to time to assist his memory while the business of the day was under discussion. Of these also I had began a copy and also a copy of the letter transmitted to him by Mr. Knight, the general secretary, informing him of the meeting and summoning him to attend. . . . There was also a whisper in the room that the younger Watson is in the neighbourhood of Manchester, but from the tone in which this was spoken No. 2 could not get to the bottom of it."

(20) H.O. 40. 3 (Hampden Clubs), No. 18. *The copy of the minutes of the Middleton meeting referred to in No.* 19 *supra.*

"Proceedings of the delegates meeting commenced at Harpurhey on the 11th inst. and adjourned to Middleton on the same day.

"Chairman Mitchell, Secretary Wilson.

"Resol. 1. That the increasing wretchedness of our condition has rendered it absolutely necessary to send out missionaries into all parts of the United Kingdom where the nature & cause of our distress has not been publicly asserted & its remedy insisted on.

"Moved by Knight & seconded by Kay.

. . . . . .

"Mr. Walker from Ashton under Line stated the following proposition whether it was more proper to send two or four missionaries at the joint expence of the surrounding Societies and that, if the Societies were not able to bear the expence of four, to solicit aid from the Hampden Club in London —the motion being written & seconded by Haigh of Oldham it passed unanimously as the second resolution.

"One of the Delegates present rose to call the attention of the Delegates to the appointing of men to officiate as missionaries. Mr. Kay gave it as his opinion that Mr. Mitchell was very proper to be appointed to such an office, to which he readily consented & was unanimously elected. Knight of Manchester proposed Mr. Fitton of Royton, Mr. Knight afterwards proposed Mr. Pilkington of Bury & Mr. Fletcher of Failsworth proposed Mr. Benbow, which four were all unanimously elected.

"Here it was asked if they shd. go separately by 2 and 2. On its being put it was carried that they shd. go 2 and 2 together. Very great difficulties arose respecting the coupling of them, the consequence of wh. was the withdrawal of Pilkington & the electing of Mr. Davis of Liverpool in his place, who was to be the companion of Fitton, & Benbow that of Mitchell.

"On the concluding of this embarrassing business it was asked by Mr. Kay what sum of money was proper to be given to each couple. £5 was granted and to be immediately collected from all the Societies and sent to the General Secretary Mr. Knight on or before Wednesday next, and that the Delegates present should be looked upon to use their utmost endeavours to procure the money from the Society which he (*sic*) represented.

"Having gone through the business respecting the missionaries the following resolution was agreed to that it was expedient for all the Societies to *call imperiously on the Members of the Hampden Club* to prepare forthwith a Bill for a radical Reform of the Commons House of Parliament, and to have the bill in readiness to be submitted to Parliament on its first meeting; for it does appear that the Habeas Corpus will be suspended on its first meeting and all the leading characters secured in the jails of the kingdom. This resolution was cordially agreed to.

"Being nearly ten o'clock at night the Delegates were very impatient for the concluding and adjourning the meeting, when Benbow or Kay brought forward this important proposition for the purpose of concentrating & consolidating the power & forces of the Union in respect of their petitioning which being written was nearly to this purport—namely,

"That all the petitioning Bodies in all the United Kingdom should send each forth < with > one or more deputies to Manchester on a — Day — to assist in bringing forth all the strength of the Unions into one point of view, and to fix on the time of presentation and on the plan to make the presentation. That this be published in the London Newspaper with an address to the people of the United Kingdom, also the minutes of this meeting as early as possible. That such of the Delegates as remained at Middleton all night should prepare the address on the following day, and send it off with the Post to London to-day. Having finished which the Chairman dissolved the meeting."

(21) H.O. 40. 4 (Cheshire, Lancashire), No. 37. *Extract of a letter from Mr. Chippendale to "Mr. Joseph Warren"* (*Mr. Fletcher*), 12/12/16.

"No. 2's exertions & usefulness increase every hour. He has wormed himself completely into their confidence. On *Saturday he is to dine with Mitchell* & a confidential party. So long as he can elude suspicion it is not, I conceive, possible that any thing can be done but he must now be acquainted with it. . . . Mitchell was in London. . . . He is now in Manchester. He is a sort of chief for the whole of this part of the country."

(22) H.O. 40. 4 (Cheshire, Lancashire), No. 40. *Extract of a letter from Mr. Chippendale*, 29/12/16.

"No. 2 was at the Manchester Meeting. The extreme wetness of the Weather prevented the People from assembling & rendered the transaction

of the necessary business of the day quite impracticable. The meeting was consequently adjourned till to-morrow at the same time & place. The Leaders withdrew to Bibby's Room, & No. 2 spent the remainder of the day amongst them. Tho' the present state of their affairs indicates a declining cause, yet the leaders are not less bent upon perseverance. . . . They are employed in obtaining signatures to their Petitions in the Societies near Manchester on which Duty they are using the greatest possible activity. They have received another letter from the Hampden Club wh. professes to be signed by Sir F. Burdett as Chairman. The object of it is to encourage the Provincial Societies to persevere and, when their petitions are ready, to send up along with them Ten in every Hundred of those who are members of the different Hampden Societies the Kingdom through. The whole to be in London at the same instant of time. . . . The Circular I have not seen, but No. 2 promises to obtain one for my perusal in a day or two."

(23) H.O. 40. 4 (Cheshire, Lancashire), No. 41. *Report by agent No.* 2 (*from Manchester*), 6/1/17.

"The Reformists are doubling their efforts in consequence of a letter received from the Hampden Club in London informing that the Reform Bill is prepared. Johnston is not to go to London, but to join Fitton at Bradford in Yorkshire. . . . The general meeting of deputies which was fixed for Monday the 20th inst. is altered to Monday the 13th. The funds of the Reformers are so low that they could not supply the missionaries with money, but a supply has been obtained from the Hampden Club in London, and several gentlemen in Manchester have come forward very handsomely. The last accounts from Mitchell & Benbow leave them at Birmingham. They organised meetings as they went along, as well as Fitton on his route. The Hampden Committee desire the Petitions may be ready by the 22nd inst. at latest."

(24) H.O. 40. 4 (Cheshire, Lancashire), No. 44. *Report by No.* 2 *of the Middleton Deputies meeting of* 15 *Jan.*, 1817, *to elect representatives for the London Convention.*

"Kay of Royton in the Chair. The Middleton Deputy was Secretary. I think his name is Brudrett (? Bamford). Kay the Chairman took his station in the pulpit, his Secretary in the reading desk. The business was opened by the Chairman reading letters from the Missionaries, all of which gave account that the countries they had visited were well disposed to the cause of reform. Two letters from Major Cartwright were also read, written for the purpose of encouraging the Union to persevere, & in particular to give confidence to the Deputies that are to go to London. After some other desultory business they next proceeded to fix the number of Deputies that should go for each district, wh. was to be governed by the state of their funds. The following is the arrangement agreed upon, viz:—

"Manchester 5, Bolton & Bury 1, Oldham 1, Failsworth, Woodhouse, Moston, Blakeley 1, Ashton under Line 1, Royton & Crompton 1, Saddleworth 1, Stockport 1, Sheffield 2, Pilkington 1, Leigh 1, Whitfield, Ratcliffe Bridge 1.

"Some of them set off on Saturday morning, others on Sunday. All to be

there on the 22nd inst., Crown & Anchor to be head-quarters. They are to assist at the discussion of the Bill clause by clause and endeavour to come to an uniformity of opinion before Parlt. meets, and thus they are to be amused by a mock debate upon a Bill that has been unalterably fixed for the last six months. Bolton & Bury are excessively poor & their funds so very low that it was a matter of doubt for some time whether they could raise a sum sufficient to send one Deputy for both places.

"No. 2 is not certain of the exact number of deputies present, but guesses them about 40. The Deputies to go to London were not chosen at this meeting, but are to be elected by their respective districts."

(25) H.O. 40. 4 (Supplementary Papers), No. 12. *Report by magistrates' agent of a debate of the Manchester Constitutional Society*, 3/2/17.

"At a meeting held at Islington on Monday evening Feby. 3— Mr. Benbow in the chair—The question to be discussed was whether Englishmen answered the end of their creation—Mr. Drummond arose and stated, i.e. asked what business a man had with £39,000 per annum, & another with £38,000, another with two millions who had lost his senses if ever he had any—another man with 1,500,000, our illustrious, gracious, good or rather shall I say big fat men—what right have they with this money—whilst those whom they have robbed are starving for want. A great deal he said of a similar nature. Mr. Baguley attempted to prove from the Magna Charta Act what he had stated on the Monday night before respecting the seizure of the King. He would have gone to great lengths if he had not been called to order by the Chairman. The two Bradbury's spoke, but their language did not suit the people, being of too mild a nature, being frequently hissed by the people. One Elijah Dixon spoke but nothing worthy of remark. Mr. Benbow arose from the Chair at the close of discussion. He produced from Acts of Parliament from the reigns of Charles II. & James II. The first was, he read the rights of petitioning, not above 20 in each petition & and not above 10 to carry the petition to present to H.M. The next act was the right of such arms as was thought proper to protect themselves with, but 'I don't pretend to say what you must do with them'. Great acclamations & Bravo! Bravo! He then stated it was fully expected the Gagging System would be put in force, but rather than submit to the tyrant's yoke let me die, and I, and I, resounded thro' the room."

[In their covering letter the Borough-reeve & Constables state that "these Meetings are swelled much in numbers from the moment the Spinning Factories in the neighbourhood leave off working—a proof that the discontent is not confined to those who are distressed, the circumstances of the Spinners being comparatively good. This body have of late contributed out of their funds assistance to the Reformers."]

(26) H.O. 40. 5 (Manchester Papers), No. 2. *Borough Reeve & Constables of Manchester to Lord Sidmouth*, 3/3/17, *reporting on the open air meeting of that day, to petition against the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.*

"People flocked in from various quarters in large bodies, & previous to the opening of the meeting we considered the appearances more formidable

than on any of the former occasions, not only from the number, but from the general appearance of the Persons assembled. The weather at this moment became very wet. An opinion had prevailed that several of the leading men were likely to be apprehended on this occasion, and which these persons themselves had taken every means in their power to propagate, as well as to excite a spirit of resistance among their followers. One of the avowed objects of this meeting was to petition the Prince Regent against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus. . . . With regard to the other object, relating to a radical reform in the H. of C., we learn that they have come to the wild & extravagant Resolution of adjourning this meeting to Monday next at the same place, when they propose that "ten out of every twenty shall proceed forthwith with Petitions to London. Our own opinion of the adjourned Meeting, as well as of the one held to-day, is that it can have no real object but to provoke an interference of the Civil Power, to resist which the strongest disposition is manifested."

"The Magistrates thought it necessary to call in two Detachments of the 54th Regiment from Rochdale & Bolton, but are happy to say that their services have not been wanted, as the meeting has gone off without disturbance and the town is perfectly quiet. The principal speakers to-day were Bradbury (in the chair), Johnston, Mitchell, Drummond, Benbow, Tetlow, Baguley, Dunkerley, & Ogden."

(27) H.O. 40. 5 (Manchester Papers), No. 11. *Extract from the Deposition of John Livsey taken before Mr. Ethelston, 7/3/17. (Gives a report of a speech made by Johnston of Salford at the Manchester Constitutional Society's debating hall, on the previous evening, in reference to the proposed march of the Blanketeers.)*

"I left the meeting on Monday (i.e. March 3) without knowing the conclusion you had agreed to, but have since been informed; therefore I think it incumbent on me to give you a little advice on the subject. Gentlemen, if you set out from Manchester in the way proposed, you will not get 3 miles without an attempt to stop you, and if you be surrounded by the Police & perhaps Soldiers you will be an easy prey if you have nothing but your open hands [long & significant pause]; you may rest assured it will be the case, so look for nothing else. If yr. leaders can get you through a few towns, you are sure of hosts of recruits. If we could get you as far as Birmingham, the whole wd. be done, for I have no doubt you will be 100,000 strong. Then Gentlemen it wd. amount to an impossibility to bring anything to resist you. There has been a gentleman out of Yorkshire who has called upon me & he says that all the large towns are adopting the same plan, & will go with you or at least will go to London. . . . The Yorkshire people are establishing funds for carrying the business into effect, & asked me whether you are doing the same."

(28) H.O. 40. 5 (Manchester Papers), No. 11. *Mr. Hay's account of the Blanketeer meeting of March 10, 1817. (Extract.) He explains that the magistrates had conferred with Major-General Sir John Byng on the previous day, & had agreed upon the course of action & then proceeds:—*

"At an early hour this morning large parties were seen flocking towards St. Peter's Church—the place of meeting—and soon afterwards a very large concourse of people (as I have heard it estimated about 12,000) had assembled. Some very numerous parties marched two abreast regularly and many others with knapsacks bags &c. The ground was occupied much earlier than usual, and about a quarter before ten the orators proceeded to harangue the mob from a cart. . . . After a certain time part of the mob was observed to move off in regular march, those who had knapsacks & bags amongst them. They took a direction as for Stockport. As to the attendance of the Magistrates it was thus arranged. Mr. Holland Watson with the Borough-reeve of Manchester was to be with Sir John Byng—the rest of the Magistrates were in a gentleman's house close at hand, where we had a full though distant view of what passed. It was ascertained who the orators were, and that Baguley & Drummond were two of them. Agst. these warrants had been issued by the Magistrates here, & a further warrant from your Lordship had just arrived. Notice being given to the Magistrates that the parties who were to seize these two men were ready, we all proceeded to the ground & had the satisfaction of seeing these two men taken as well as one Williams who acted as Secretary. This was effected by a very ready and neat movement of the military. The Cart whence the orators harangued was taken—the owner of the Cart is in custody. Mr. H. Watson both before and after this requested the populace to disperse—but with no visible effect. The ground was now kept by a party of the King's Dragoon Guards under Col. Teesdale—about 20 other persons were taken, with two of whom, or in their knapsacks a dangerous instrument was found. It soon was determined that a party of the Military accompanied by 2 Magistrates, Mr. H. Watson & Mr. Ethelston shd. follow the mob who had marched, as I have described, towards Stockport on their way to London. The result of this was that it was overtaken on the Lancashire side of the river, just before it wd. have got into Stockport, & that 215 were taken. They were brought back under two escorts. The 1st party of prisoners consisted of 48; the latter of 167. Short examinations were taken of the first party the second did not arrive till too late. The proceedings will go on as fast as may be & the result communicated to Your Lordship. We took also such measures as we could to clear the streets & the Town assumed a tolerably settled appearance; but this was disturbed by the arrival of two Escorts from Stockport which caused the Town to be twice disturbed, but, as far as I can learn, everything appears quiet."

(29) H.O. 40. 5 (Manchester Papers), No. 11. *Extracts from notes taken by one of Nadin's men, of the speeches of Drummond & Baguley to the Blanketeers at the meeting of March* 10, 1816.

"Drummond said, . . . We will let them see it is not riot and disturbance we want, it is bread we want and we will apply to our noble Prince as a child would to its Father for bread. If the whole hosts of hell come against me I will not stir an inch; for so must the soldiers or anything else be that come to oppose so lawful & constitutional a proceeding. Whatever you do behave orderly & show your enemies that decorum they themselves ought to show." "Baguley said, This is one of the happiest moments of my life to see

you all ready to go so virtuous & aplaudable a journey. There never was such a thing done before. If you look through all the annals of history you will not see any like this. In the reign of Richard II. about 40,000 men went to London to demand their rights of the King; & he granted them their rights & they went home again. But they only came a little way from London, they did not go from Manchester. Now, gentlemen, if any one breaks the peace we will deliver him up to the first magistrate we come to." "Drummond said, Those that can forgive all their enemies, constables & so <forth> that hath been against us, before you go signify the same by holding up your hands." (Nearly all hands up.)

"Baguley said, Now you gentlemen that are for going, draw yourselves out on the road & form yourselves in 10's with your leading man at the head of one five in front & five in the rear. If any of you wants any petitions, we have some here that are left. Some with knapsacks applied, but he said, form yourselves on the road first & they shall be given to you, and let the gentlemen that are for giving us something come up to the Hustings (here the crowd was much disordered in changing places). This being done money poured in on every side in <to> Hats that was handed off the hustings. The copper was turned out of the hats into pocket handkerchiefs. One man handed up a pound note to Meldrum. Silver was given in all directions to Baguley & Drummond, which they put into their pockets. Here a man made his way through the crowd to the Hustings crying, Mr. Baguley a gentleman hath sent me to tell you that Nadin & a great many constables are waiting of you in the street. Baguley says, Never mind, he only means to alarm the meeting. Well, said the man, I have told you."

(29A) *Hay Scrap Book* (*Cheetham Library*), *Vol. VII., p.* 161. *Petition of the Blanketeers to the Prince Regent* (Extract).

After a long preamble which ascribes the sufferings of the petitioners to increased taxes & rents, the new Corn Law, "the new libel law," the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the petitioners pray: "that Your Highness will instantly dismiss from your Councils the Ministers who have advised or devised such cruel, such unjust measures, and call to your Councils men who are the declared or avowed friends to conciliatory measures—to Parliamentary Reform—and a general & very considerable retrenchment in every part of national expenditure. Our lives are in your hands—our happiness, in great measure, depends on you. If you procure the adoption of measures calculated to relieve us, you may then safely depend upon our support & gratitude—Without this we can neither support you nor ourselves."

(30) H.O. 40. 5 (Manchester Papers), No. 26 (Extract). *Borough Reeve & Constables of Manchester to Lord Sidmouth, communicating an agent's* (*Michael Hall* alias *Dewhurst*) *report on a Deputies Meeting held at Middleton on March* 17, 1817. (*The localities represented were Manchester, Oldham, Ashton, Staleybridge, Stockport, Chadderton, New Mills.*)

"Our Informant was introduced by a Manchester man of the name of Sellers with whom, & another man of the name of Roberts, also of this town

he walked to Middleton at 7 o'clock in the evening. On their arrival they first met at a public house, from whence they repaired two by two to the garret of John Lancashire where 15 in all assembled. It was first requested that no names shd. be mentioned. The object of the meeting was to determine upon a plan which had been previously in agitation amongst some of the most desperate. Avowedly disappointed at the result of the intended march to London, they now meditate open insurrection; to accomplish which the first step is to be an attack upon the Barracks, the New Baily Prison, the Police Office & the Houses of the chief officers of the Town. Some of the Deputies & particularly the one from Chadderton (who declared his men were ready at a moment's notice) were exceedingly anxious to commence operations immediately. This was opposed by the Majority, & it was determined that it would be better to wait until they received accounts from Deputies who are to be dispatched on Thursday to B'ham & Nott'ham to endeavour to excite the people there to similar attempts."

"A Person who came from Nott'ham to announce the apprehension of Meldrum, but who was not admitted to the meeting of Delegates at Middleton represents that town to be in a much more forward state of organisation than Manchester & the neighbourhood & that they are ready to act at any moment. The time fixed upon for the attempt is the night of Sunday the 30th inst. The necessity of disposing of the principal officers of the Police was freely discussed & decided upon. The parties appointed to meet again at the Rose in Chadderton on Sunday evening next. . . . We place full reliance on the veracity of our Informant, and after the wild attempt we have lately witnessed, we should not be justified in disregarding information on account of its extravagance. . . . Probably too Your Lordship will give an opinion whether it would be more adviseable to attempt to seize the parties at Chadderton, or to allow them to proceed to overt Acts."

(31) H.O. 40. 5 (Manchester Papers) (Extract), No. 29. *Secret Agent's report on the Chadderton meeting, 23 March*, 1817.

"He went from Manchester with Roberts & Nathan Hilton, the man from New Mills, by trade a Tailor. Started about 4 o'clock, arrived at Chadderton between 6 & 7 oclock. . . . The New Mills man said that he had made some Bullets, that he had about 300 hid in an old man's house at New Mills. Roberts observed that it was unfortunate that Nadin wd. be at Lancaster when this business took place, as the Assizes begun to-morrow. . . . Both New Mills man & Roberts said they hoped the country people were in the same mind as they had been, which was to meet on the Sunday next the 30th as before agreed upon; for if it did not take place then, they were afraid the minds of the People would be cooled, but they were determined to push the business forward."

There were seventeen deputies at the Chadderton meeting wh. began at 8 o'clock; but three or four were afterwards asked to leave the meeting because they had not been present at the Middleton meeting. The date of the rising was again discussed and again it was decided to rise on the Sunday night or the Monday morning. It was agreed that the fate of the Reformists' Bill was settled and that Parlt. could not be expected to do anything for the people.

"Roberts said: You understand that every man must provide himself with arms the best way he can. They all understood that perfectly well. The Chadderton man said that most of their people had arms already. He said he thought they would muster about 70 Firelocks, that one man had promised to assist them with 40.

"It was agreed to come to M'chester on Friday afternoon at 3 o'clock & to meet at the Royal Oak at Ardwick Bridge, to hear what news had come from B'ham, Sheffield & any other places from wh. information was expected. The Chadderton man said he had seen the Deputy from Bury & he <had> been at Huddersfield & Leeds & he was confident the people were all ready to begin at any hour as they had been getting up a deal of arms that had been hid since the time of the Luddites.

"It was fixed that they shd. come to the outsides of the Town to be there by one or half-past one at the furthest, & they were to advance when they saw a Rocket as a sign; then they were to come forward to St. Peter's Church or upon the old ground. They must then divide themselves; one party to the Barracks, another party to the Police Office, others to the Boroughreeve's & Constables', others to the Banks, which was agreed to by all present.

"In the course of the preceding conversation it was said that two or three thousand would be sufficient to do what they had to do, for no doubt they would be fifty thousand strong by Daylight in the morning."

(32) H.O. 41. 2, p. 533. *Home Office Instructions to Gloucester Gaol respecting political prisoners, April,* 1817.

"That no Person be allowed to have access to them without your receiving a written authority from His Lordship for that purpose.

"That all letters either written by them, or which may come addressed to them, be in the first instance transmitted to this Office.

"That there be no communication between them, either in their rooms or at the time of their being in the Airing Grounds.

"That they be not put in irons unless safe custody should require it.

"That they be allowed One Guinea per week each for their Food etc. But if they prefer being victualled by you, the like allowance will be made to you for each of them. Any further provision etc. that they may require must be at their own expense."

THE APOSTLE THOMAS IN NORTH INDIA.[1]

By J. N. FARQUHAR, M.A., B.D., D.Litt. (Oxon.).

PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION, MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY.

I. THE PROBLEM.—Our study starts from an apocryphal book, *The Acts of Judas Thomas*. This book is clearly a piece of fiction; yet it introduces to us a king named Gūdnaphar, who is spoken of as ruling in India, and also his brother Gad. These two men are historical persons, and Gūdnaphar ruled one of the great provinces of India, viz. the Punjaub and the Indus valley. Yet those names were totally unknown to history until, by excavation both west and east of the river Indus in recent decades, coins and inscriptions were discovered which revealed the facts. These coins and inscriptions have also made it clear that Gūdnaphar belonged to a Parthian dynasty and ruled a large part of the Parthian domains as well as his great Indian province. The names in Parthian are Vindapharna and Guda. Of the king's Parthian lineage and his Parthian kingdom the author of *The Acts of Judas Thomas* is totally ignorant.

The Acts states that the Apostle Thomas went by sea to King Gūdnaphar's Indian Kingdom and preached the gospel there, and also met the king and his brother. The chronology is quite possible and there are other details which fit perfectly into the circumstances of the time. The question therefore arises, *Is the voyage of Thomas to India historical* as well as the king, his Indian realm and his brother?

[1] An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 14 October, 1925. The following abbreviations are used in this paper :—

Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles :* W.

James, *The Apocryphal New Testament :* J.

Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire :* TR.

A number of competent Orientalists have thought that the tale was probably historical, and they have therefore tried to reconstruct the history ; yet, thus far every attempt has broken down ; and the theory, stated by Dr. Garbe of Tübingen,[1] that the traditions are all mythical and that Christianity arose in India in the fourth century, has held the field since 1914. But recent archæological research has provided us with fresh details of the history of N.W. India in the first century, which fit into the old tradition in rather remarkable fashion ; while certain facts found in Syriac literature[2] tend to favour the truth of the ancient story. A fresh study of the problem may therefore be of interest.

There has been a Christian community in the extreme south-west of India since the sixth century at latest, and for centuries there was a sister-community on the south-east coast. This Christian community has a tradition to the effect that the Apostle Thomas came to the south-west coast from the island of Socotra, and that, when he had done the work of an Apostle in Travancore, he passed over to the Madras coast, where he won many for Christ but finally was put to death as a martyr by lance-thrust. Is this South Indian tradition historical or legendary ?

This is the second half of the problem of Saint Thomas ; but we propose to consider only the first half here.

The parts of *The Acts of Judas Thomas* essential for the discussion of the first half of the problem may be summarised as follows :—

When the Apostles had been for a time in Jerusalem, they cast lots to ascertain in which country each should preach, and India fell to the lot of Thomas ; but he was most unwilling to go. Christ appeared to him in a dream and promised him His grace, but he would not go. Christ then sold him as a slave to a merchant named Habbān, who carried him away by sea to India. The starting-point of the voyage is not mentioned, but they stop at Andrapolis ; and then, proceeding to India, reach the court of King Gūdnaphar who wanted a man to build him a palace. Thomas, introduced as a carpenter, received from the king money for the erection of the palace, but spent it on the poor. The king remonstrated ; but miraculous events convinced him that Thomas by spending the money on the poor had built him a palace in heaven.

[1] *Indien und das Christentum*, von Richard Garbe, Tübingen, Mohr, 1914.

[2] I am deeply indebted to Dr. Mingana of the Rylands Library, Manchester, for help in Syriac literature.

Hence Gūdnaphar and his brother Gad became Christians. Thereafter, Thomas went to another kingdom in India, where by order of the king, whose name was Mazdai, he was speared to death by four soldiers.

II. CHRISTIANITY AT EDESSA.—Since *The Acts of Judas Thomas* was written at or near Edessa in Mesopotamia, we must realise a few facts about the rise of Christianity there.

It was in the lands west and east of the Tigris that the Israelites and Judæans who were carried into captivity were settled by their conquerors. Their descendants proved a vigorous and intelligent race. There is clear evidence that, by the first century of our era, from the borders of Syria to Parthia there were large numbers of Jews, that many of them were engaged in business, and that a percentage of them were wealthy men.[1] These are some of the large facts which lie behind the narrative of the conversion of thousands of Jews of the Dispersion at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost in the second chapter of *The Acts of the Apostles*. In the catalogue of the converts Luke mentions "Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia." Clearly, Mesopotamia is meant to cover the earliest Christians connected with Edessa.

In that great event, then, we see the mighty force liberated which led to the complete Christianisation of Osroëne (the district of which Edessa was the capital) and of Adiabene beyond the Tigris, at an earlier date than any other part of the world.[2]

By rare good fortune *The Doctrine of Addai* has preserved for us the names of two members of one of the earliest Christian families connected with Edessa. Addai was a travelling evangelist who arrived in Edessa about 90 or 95 and passed on to Adiabene in A.D. 99.[3] We are told that, when he arrived in Edessa, he became the guest of Tobias, the son of Tobias, a Palestinian Jew.[4] Thus, if we suppose that Tobias senior became a Christian at Pentecost and that his son was born about the same time, Tobias junior would be about sixty years of age when he had the joy of receiving Addai in his home. It is noteworthy that, when *The Doctrine of Addai* was written, Tobias senior was still remembered and deeply respected in

[1] Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, V. 92.
[2] Harnach, *Mission and Expansion*, II. 142 ff.
[3] Mšiha Zkha in Mingana's *Sources Syriaques* (Leipzig, 1907), 80.
[4] Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai*, 5-6; Eusebius, *H.E.*, I. xiii. 11.

the Church. So much at least is implied in the careful mention of his name in the historical record. Clearly, he must have been one of the earliest Christian leaders at Edessa.

Aramaic was the language of all the Jews of Mesopotamia and the Far East. The literary form of Aramaic which was used in Osroëne and Adiabene is called Syriac. The O.T. was translated at quite an early date into Syriac; and during the second century the Gospels were translated into Syriac at least three times.

It was probably at some date in the second century that an Edessene merchant, with a few companions, brought a case containing human remains to Edessa. They affirmed that they were the relics of the Apostle Thomas, and that he had suffered martyrdom in India, slain by spear-thrust. They said they had stolen the relics,[1] and had brought them from India by sea to Charax Spasini, a port at the head of the Persian Gulf. From Charax they had taken them by road to Nisibis and thence to Edessa.

The relics were enshrined at Edessa; and Thomas was held in great veneration as the Apostle of India throughout Mesopotamia and the East.

The Acts of Judas Thomas was written, in Syriac, at or near Edessa, as a manual of instruction for visitors to the shrine of the martyr. The date of the work falls between A.D. 180 and 230.

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ACTS.—A. *The book is written in imitation of earlier apocryphal works, The Acts of John, Paul, Peter, Andrew and Thecla, and is written for the same purpose, to teach that marriage is unclean and unspiritual and that Christians therefore must not marry.*

Very little trustworthy information about Thomas was available at Edessa. We suggest that there was A, *a written document*, in all probability a letter, which was preserved at Edessa and which gave a brief account of Thomas's voyage from the Mediterranean with the merchant Ḥabbān, of his arrival in Gūdnaphar's Indian kingdom and capital, and of his meeting with the king and his brother; and B, *the tradition about the martrydom of the Apostle.* These are the two sources the writer seems to have had; and apparently no more biographical information was obtainable. Hence

[1] *Acts of Judas Thomas*, W. 297; J. 437.

B. *Apart from the information which comes from the two sources, the work is altogether a piece of fiction.*

The *Acts* falls into two well-marked divisions. *The first* contains the voyage to India and all that Thomas is said to have done in Gūdnaphar's kingdom. At the close, he bids his friends a final farewell, the scene being clearly modelled on Paul's farewell at Miletus, and leaves them. *The second* contains all that he is said to have done in Mazdai's kingdom and closes with his martyrdom. We suggest that the two divisions of the work reflect the two Edessene sources.

The question of the actual existence of the written document at Edessa will come up later.

Since so little was known about Thomas at Edessa, he formed quite a good subject for the purpose on hand, viz. the inculcation of the doctrine that marriage is altogether incompatible with Christianity. Had Thomas's actual teaching been known, it would not have suited the author at all.

C. *The author has no interest in chronology or geography.* He gives no date whatever. He actually omits the name of the port which was the starting-point of the voyage and also the name of the port of disembarkation. The capital city of Gūdnaphar is not named. Yet we can hardly be wrong in believing that the document which was his chief source contained these particulars. All that the author was interested in was the single fact that Thomas went to India.

D. One of the more prominent aspects of *The Acts* is that, *Wherever Thomas goes, he has royal or courtier disciples.*[1]

We suggest that the statement in the Edessene document, that he met King Gūdnaphar and his brother, suggested to the author the idea of making Thomas meet kings and courtiers everywhere.

E. *The Author calls Thomas the twin-brother of our Lord.* Dr. Rendel Harris, in his book, *The Dioscuri in Christian Legend*, suggests a reason which may have led the author to set a pair of twins at the centre of his work. That question need not be discussed here; but we had better show how the author found a basis for the idea that Thomas was a brother of our Lord.

[1] W., 153-159; 161-167; 200-204; 218-237; 256-298; J., 368-371; 374-376; 393; 402-411; 417-438. It is amazing to find Andropolis in Egypt with a king of its own, W., 148-9; J., 366. Cf. also p. 107 below.

The word Thomas means "twin," yet the Apostle receives no other name[1] in the N.T. He must have had a name of his own; but he seems to have been usually called "Twin." At a later point[2] we suggest a reason for believing that Judas was his personal name, and that he was called Judas Thomas in the document preserved at Edessa. Now Jesus had a brother named Judas.[3] It was therefore possible to identify the twin with him.

F. *The author sets in the life of Thomas many incidents which are parallel with incidents in the life of our Lord.* This characteristic, doubtless, in the author's mind, was closely connected with the representation of the Apostle as the twin-brother of Christ. We suggest, however, that this method of portraiture was suggested to the author by the tradition of the martyrdom of Thomas. Since the tradition ran that he was speared to death, the author at once remembered that, while Jesus still hung on the cross, a soldier pierced His side with a spear. There was thus already one parallel between Thomas and Jesus: the author merely added others to it.

1. Thomas, who was a fisherman.[4] is represented as being a carpenter,[5] so that he may have the same occupation as Jesus.

2. He is also represented as preparing mansions in heaven,[6] like Jesus.[7]

3. He is sold for twenty pieces of silver,[8] as our Lord was sold for thirty pieces.

4. He heals sick persons, paralytics, lunatics.[9]

5. He casts out devils.[10]

6. He raises the dead.[11]

7. After restoring two women, who seemed to be dead, he bade their servants give them some food.[12]

8. The people crowd round him so that they tread on one another.[13]

[1] Didymus is simply the Greek word for "twin."
[2] See p. 104.
[3] Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3.
[4] John xxi. 1-3.
[5] W., 147 ff.; J., 365 ff.
[6] W., 163-4; J., 373-4.
[7] John xiv. 2.
[8] W., 147; J., 365.
[9] W., 161; 198; J., 373; 392.
[10] W., 161; 187; 198; J., 373; 387; 392; 401.
[11] W., 164; 173; 194; J., 374; 380; 390; 401.
[12] W., 217; J., 401. Cf. Mark v. 43.
[13] W., 222; J., 403. Cf. Luke xii. 1.

9. He rides on an ass colt.[1]

10. As he is dragged away to be tried by King Mazdai, a courtier says, "Let us see if Jesus will deliver him from my hands."[2]

11. When examined by Mazdai, he gives him no answer.[3]

12. At a later point, he says to Mazdai, "Thou hast not power over me as thou thinkest."[4]

13. He is scourged.[5]

14. As Jesus was handed over to four soldiers and a centurion for crucifixion, so, in the Greek text, Thomas is handed over to four soldiers and an officer.[6] In the Syriac text,[7] the number is indefinite.

15. He is pierced with spears[8] and dies.

16. His body is wrapped in linen.[9]

17. He is buried in the tomb of the former kings,[10] as Jesus was buried in the rock-hewn tomb of Joseph of Arimathea.

18. After his martyrdom, he appears to his disciples on several occasions.[11]

The author's methods are so distinctive, and each is used so often in the course of the work that no thoughtful reader can doubt that the great mass of the incidents described in the work are fictitious, invented by the author in accordance with the few lines of procedure which he had decided to follow.

IV. The Merchant Ḥabbān.—There are three historical persons in *The Acts of Thomas*, Thomas, Gūdnaphar and Gad: are there any others?—The first and second sections of the work give a prominent place to a merchant named Ḥabbān, who is said to have gone from India to the west, and who brings Thomas to India and introduces him to King Gūdnaphar. Is this Ḥabbān an authentic person too? Was his name also in the ancient document which lay in Edessa?

The fact that his name is not Parthian, like Gūdnaphar and Gad, but Semitic, is a point in his favour. If he is historical, he was a Jew,

[1] W., 179-182; J., 384. Cf. Matt. xxi. 7.
[2] W., 237; J., 410. Cf. Mark xv. 36.
[3] W., 237; J., 410. Cf. Mark xv. 4-5.
[4] W., 275; J., 426; W., 293. Cf. John xix. 11.
[5] W., 237; J., 410.
[6] J., 436. Cf. John xix. 23.
[7] W., 294.
[8] W., 296; J., 437.
[9] W., 296; J., 437. Cf. John xix. 40; Luke xxiv. 12.
[10] W., 296; J., 437.
[11] W., 296-7; J., 437.

and belonged to Parthia; for he is represented as a subject of the Parthian king Gūdnaphar. Since he brings Thomas to India, he is regarded as a Christian. Thus, if he is historical, he is a Parthian Jew who had become a Christian.

But this description—a Parthian Jew who had become a Christian—recalls the passage in the Acts of the Apostles, discussed above, which tells us that, at the feast of Pentecost after the Passion, thousands of Jews belonging to the Dispersion became Christians; and in the list of countries to which these converts belonged, Parthia comes first.

Can Ḥabbān have been one of the Parthian Jews who yielded to Christ then?—He is not only called "The merchant Ḥabbān" but "the merchant of King Gūdnaphar,"[1] which must mean that he was the Commissioner in charge of the King's trade. For centuries before Gūdnaphar Indian Kings had engaged in manufacture and commerce on a great scale. Dr. F. W. Thomas, describing the Maurya Empire in *The Cambridge History of India*,[2] says, "The King himself was a great trader, disposing of the output of his factories, workshops, and prisons, and the produce of his lands, forests and mines, for which he maintained store-houses through the country." In a footnote, in which he gives references to the chief authorities, he adds, "The King's trade-agent is *rājavaidehaka*," i.e. 'royal merchant.' Thus Ḥabbān was Gūdnaphar's *rājavaidehaka*. Naturally, the author of *The Acts of Judas Thomas* did not understand the significance of the phrase, "the merchant of King Gūdnaphar."

We may also compare the policy which Augustus initiated in Egypt, and which his successors continued: "The emperors owned monopolies on the production and sale of innumerable articles and commodities . . . not only was the corn trade wholly in the hands of the imperial agents, . . . but the sowing of flax . . . the sale of the finished products . . . etc."[3]

Thus Ḥabbān was a great official under King Gūdnaphar. He is represented as resident in the King's Indian dominions. Hence his residence would be in Taxila the capital. Had he been merely an ordinary merchant with large interests in the trade between North India and the Mediterranean, he would have found it necessary to visit Alexandria once every four or five years at least; but as

[1] W., 147; J., 365. The passage is quoted below, p. 93.
[2] I., 479.
[3] *TR.*, 18, 26, 29, 30, 31.

King's Trade Commissioner, he would, in all probability, have to go more often. He would sail from the Indus to Alexandria and would transact most of his business there. But, on such occasions, to go from Alexandria to Jerusalem to keep the Passover, or Pentecost, or both, would be quite easy. The times of the sailings would fit perfectly: travellers from India to Egypt, if they sailed late in November, which was the usual time, would reach Alexandria early in March; while for the outward voyage, they might leave Alexandria at any time between the first of May and the middle of July.[1]

Thus, we are not straining probability too far, if we say that Ḥabbān is probably an authentic person, a Jewish merchant belonging to Parthia, but appointed Royal Trade Commisssoner under King Gūdnaphar in India, and therefore resident in Taxila, and that he may have been one of the Jews who became Christians at Pentecost.

For reasons which will appear later, we suggest that Ḥabbān and Tobias senior, whom we have already met, became fast friends at Pentecost, that for years they kept up correspondence, and that they may have also met occasionally in Jerusalem, after the first Christian Pentecost. If they were both merchants, they would have no difficulty in carrying on correspondence, even when they were far sundered. It is probable that both men made the acquaintance of Thomas during those golden days in Jerusalem.

The story in the *Acts* represents[2] Ḥabbān as commissioned to bring a carpenter from the west to India for the King;[3] and we are asked to believe that our Lord sold Thomas to Ḥabbān for twenty pieces of silver. He is then brought to India, meets the King and arranges to build a palace for him, but spends the money on the poor,[4]

[1] *TR.*, 60.

[2] See p. 93 below.

[3] This story of an Indian King desiring to buy a carpenter belonging to the west reminds one of the story that King Bindusāra, the father of Aśoka, is said to have requested Antiochus to buy a Greek professor and send him out to India to the King. V. Smith, *Early History of India* (Oxford), 147. But, while the story told of Bindusāra has a certain reasonableness, since, in the third century B.C., the wisdom of the Greeks was already famous in India, and the King might be eager to come in touch with one of its representatives, the story told of King Gūdnaphar is foolish and unlikely in the extreme; for there were plenty of Greeks in his capital who could have built him a beautiful palace: see below.

[4] For an Indian story parallel to this particular part of the legend, see the account of the conversion of Māṇikka Vāchakar, Pope, *Tiruvāśagam*, (Oxford), XVIII.-XXVII.

meantime building a palace for the King in Heaven. Clearly, the details of this episode are merely phantasms conjured up by the author of the *Acts*. If, however, Thomas went to India to preach the Gospel, as is implied even in the *Acts*, then we must believe that *circumstances arose which enabled Ḥabbān to persuade Thomas to take that momentous step.*

V. The Apostle Thomas in Alexandria.—The references to Thomas in the New Testament are at first sight very strange. There is a bare mention of his name once in each of the Synoptic Gospels and in the Acts; but, except in the Fourth Gospel, he is mentioned nowhere else in the New Testament. From these facts we may safely conclude that his Apostolic labours, whether they were great or small, did not take place in the lands where Luke, Paul and his lieutenants travelled and toiled. He seems to have been outside their horizon altogether. His bilingual names, Thomas Didymus, at once place him beside Simon Petrus, John Marcus, Saul Paulus, and we may realise that he was fit for Apostolic work not only among people who spoke Aramaic, but in Greek-speaking lands as well.[1] Since Paul seems to have worked almost entirely on the northern coasts of the Mediterranean, we may think it possible that Thomas was one of the men who proclaimed Christ in Egypt, Cyrene and further west.

In the Fourth Gospel he takes a very noteworthy part in several of the scenes at the close of our Lord's life. If the historical character of these narratives is not absolutely certain, there can be no doubt about the high opinion the author of the Gospel held of the Apostle. In these scenes he appears as a cautious, matter-of-fact person, who wishes to understand things clearly and to have evidence of that which he is asked to believe, but also as profoundly devoted to our Lord, and ready for the utmost self-sacrifice for His sake. Do not these passages, when read together, seem to reveal a real personality?

Let us suppose, then, that Thomas is leading the Christian movement in Alexandria, the greatest port in the world then, the second city of the Roman Empire.

Augustus had seen so clearly the wisdom of encouraging the trade of the Empire that, when, through the battle of Actium, he obtained control of Egypt, he took the greatest care to keep the government of the country and also large sections of its trade in his own hands. He

[1] Cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller* (London, 1895), pp. 81 ff.

then did all that could possibly be done to help the most important trade of those days, viz. the trade between Egypt and the East.[1] Under his masterly administration, commerce with Africa and Arabia, and especially with India and China, grew rapidly. In those days, 120 great ships sailed for India from Egypt every year.

The chief elements of the population of Alexandria under the Empire were Egyptians, Jews and Greeks, the Jews forming two-fifths of the whole mass. It was thus the greatest Jewish city of the ancient world; and the production of the *Septuagint* is the visible symbol of their strength and their zeal. Under the Empire, they were a wealthy community, largely engaged in trade, as so many Jews are now.

For Thomas, his kinsmen the Jews would be the chief objective. The bulk of his conversations and addresses would require to be in Greek, but there would be a minority who would understand his vernacular, Aramaic. With the Jews, then, he would wrestle and pray day by day, wooing them to the knowledge of the love of Jesus. Yet, as the life of Paul shows, in those days educated Greeks and Romans were almost as open to the appeal of Christ as the Jews were. Besides Egyptians, Jews and Greeks, all the races of the Mediterranean were represented in Alexandria; and there were in the city also, as residents or as visitors, Abyssinians, Arabs, Indians, Parthians and men from the Persian Gulf, all engaged in commerce or shipping, most of them connected with the trade with the Far East. Greek was the one medium of communication. It was as well known in Alexandria then as English is in Calcutta to-day.

Now those capable business men, accustomed to travel, and to meet men of many races, in touch with the main currents of the life and thought of the time, were a class who were drawn into the Church in considerable numbers in those early decades. They are precisely the type of men who formed the strong fibre of the Churches founded by Paul. If the Spirit of Jesus led Thomas to the great task of revealing the truth to those groups, he must have had a very hard fight, but he would also gain great experience in dealing with individuals and in presenting the Gospel of the grace of God to the most vigorous type of men of the day.

We suppose, then, that Ḥabbān, King Gūdnaphar's Trade Com-

[1] *T.R.*, 2-34.

missioner, arrives in Alexandria on one of his frequent visits to the West, to sell Indian exports and to buy western goods for sale in India. Being a very keen Christian, he seeks out the Christian Church at once and meets Thomas. If they had become friends at the great Pentecost, conceive their joy at meeting again! Ḥabbān had not expected to meet the Apostle there. They spend some time together, talking on the greatest of all themes. Ḥabbān hears about the fight for the Gospel in Alexandria; and Thomas hears of the efforts of Ḥabbān to win individual Parthians[1] and Hindus in the Punjaub. Ḥabbān tells how hard the struggle has been, and how little has been accomplished. "I have being doing my utmost," he adds, "on the voyage with a few Parthian merchants, friends of mine, who sailed with me; and I know that their hearts are strangely moved by the story of the Cross, but not one of them has reached the great decision. Let me bring them to you: I know they will come gladly, when I tell them that one of the men who lived with Jesus and saw Him after His resurrection is here; and who knows whether they will not accept our Lord?"

Thomas at once replies, "Do bring them as soon as you can find an opportunity. Tell me their names; and you and I meantime will pray in secret with all our strength for them."

Next day, the Parthians meet the Apostle and stay with him for hours, listening to him with infinite eagerness[2] and asking him endless questions. Next day they return and spend the whole day with him, fascinated by his character, his manner, his prayers, but above all by his presentation of Jesus. One by one they yield, and the new Christian life is born within them. Their baptism makes an ineffaceable impression on the infant Church in Alexandria.

But if that actually happened, what would be the result?—Ḥabbān would inevitably turn to Thomas and say, "Come over to India and help us! We Jewish Christians (only two or three families) have been struggling for years in Taxila to bring Parthians and Hindus into the Church, but with very little success. Clearly, you are the man we need. Come and evangelise India!"

[1] The Parthians, originally rather a wild race on the northern frontiers of Persia, had conquered that country, and had also accepted its religion, Zoroastrianism.

[2] As monotheistic Zoroastrians, they would be partially prepared for Christian teaching.

Apart from some striking manifestation of the power of Christ working in Thomas to win men from the Far East, one can hardly believe that Ḥabbān would have dared seriously to suggest that Thomas should take the unexampled step of going to India; but, in these circumstances, one can believe that he might be emboldened to beg him to go.

Naturally, the new-born Christians, in their eagerness that their own families, friends and fellow-countrymen should find the precious treasure they have found, join Ḥabbān in beseeching Thomas to go with them. They tell him that the Parthians rule not only all the territories on the west side of the river Indus, but the delta and the whole valley of the giant river and also the great province of the five rivers, the Punjaub, stretching far to the East. In the Punjaub, within a short distance of the upper Indus, they have a famous capital city, named Taxila, where Greek is spoken as well as the tongues of India and Iran. There he may preach to Scythians, Parthians and Greeks as well as to Indians; in the University he may meet learned Hindu, Buddhist and Jain scholars; while in the streets of the city, and in the country round, he may talk with the famous ascetic philosophers[1] of India, men of every type and every belief, naked and clothed, theists, atheists and pantheists. "Taxila is the Athens of India."

Thomas protests that the distance is far too great, that the voyage would consume a ruinous amount of time, that he would have to acquire new languages and that in all probability he would never be able to return to his work in Egypt.

His friends reply that there are great ships of excellent build which sail to India and that a short route is now followed, so that the voyage from the coast of Egypt to the coast of India takes only two and a half months.[2] They also suggest that India is a country of such

[1] Strabo tells us of a group of naked ascetics who were near Taxila when Alexander was there.

[2] In Kaye's memoir on *Hindu Astronomy*, which has just appeared in Calcutta, we are told that Le Gentil, in 1769, took the much more serious voyage of the xviiith century from France to Pondicherry, on the south-east coast of India, to observe a transit of Venus. The voyage in those days usually took six months, but it frequently took longer. When Warren Hastings went out for the first time, in 1749, it took nine months, and Henry Martyn had the same experience in 1805.

size and population and of so much influence in Asia[1] that to spend one's life as the Apostle of India would be to use it to the greatest possible advantage for the kingdom of Christ.

But Thomas is unwilling to go. Ḥabbān makes a great appeal to him in the name of Christ: Thomas doubts, hesitates and refuses. Later, however, in quieter mood, he prays to his Master for guidance, and finally decides to go.[2]

Now the *Acts of Judas Thomas* opens with the following passage:—

And when all the Apostles had been for a time in Jerusalem—Simon Cephas and Andrew and Jacob (James) and John and Philip and Bartholomew and Thomas and Matthew the publican and Jacob (James) the son of Alpheus and Simon the Kananite and Judas the son of Jacob (James)—they divided the countries among them, in order that each one of them might preach in the region which fell to him and in the place to which his Lord sent him. And India fell by lot and division to Judas Thomas (or the Twin) the Apostle. And he was not willing to go, saying, "I have not strength enough for this, because I am weak. And I am a Hebrew: how can I teach the Indians?" and whilst Judas was reasoning thus, our Lord appeared to him in a vision of the night and said to him: "Fear not, Thomas, because my grace is with thee." But he would not be persuaded at all, saying: "Whithersoever Thou wilt, our Lord, send me; only to India I will not go." And as Judas was reasoning thus, a certain merchant, an Indian, happened (to come) into the south country from ——, whose name was Ḥabbān, and he was sent by the King Gūdnaphar, that he might bring to him a skilful carpenter. And our Lord saw him walking in the street, and said to him: "Thou wishest to buy a carpenter?" He saith to him "Yes." Our Lord saith to him, "I have a slave, a carpenter, whom I will sell to thee." And he showed him Thomas at a distance, and bargained with him for twenty (pieces) of silver (as) his price, and wrote a bill of sale thus, "I, Jesus, the son of Joseph the carpenter, from he village of Bethlehem, which is in Judæa, acknowledge that I have sold my slave Judas Thomas to Ḥabbān, the merchant of King Gūdnaphar." And when they had completed his bill of sale, Jesus took Judas and went to Habbān the merchant. And Ḥabbān saw him and said to him: "Is this thy master?" Judas saith to him: "Yes, he is my master." Ḥabbān the merchant saith to him: "He has sold thee to me outright." And Judas was silent.

[1] Ceylon was already largely Buddhist; Kashmir, Afghanistan, Bactria and Central Asia had responded eagerly to Buddhist teaching; and China was on the verge of welcoming the preaching monks.

[2] A well-known Iranian scholar, Professor J. H. Moulton of Manchester University, went through the submarines in the great war, in order to have the privilege of commending Christ to the Zoroastrians of India, and lost his life on the way home.

And in the morning he arose and prayed and entreated of his Lord, and said to Him: "Lo, our Lord, as Thou wilt, let Thy will be (done)." And he went to Ḥabbān the merchant, without carrying anything with him except that price of his, for our Lord had given it to him. And Judas went and found Ḥabbān the merchant carrying his goods on board the ship and he began to carry (them) on board with him.[1]

One wonders whether this extraordinary narrative is not a dull, uncomprehending reproduction of a vivid report of what happened when Thomas actually yielded. Is it not possible that, in the exaltation of the moment, Thomas turned to Ḥabbān and said (in words such as our Lord and Paul used more than once),[2] "I yield: my Master bids me go: I am your slave for Jesus' sake." If this phrase occurred in the written document, which we believe existed in Edessa, then the author of the *Acts* might quite well transform the incident into the impossible yet attractive tale which he tells.

VI. Trade Between India and the West.—There had been great trade between the Mediterranean and India for some two centuries: and the arrangements made by Augustus after the battle of Actium gave this commerce an unparalleled opportunity. As the years passed, it seems to have become steadily greater, reaching its climax under Nero. Large quantities of Roman coins have been found at various points in India. Mommsen calculated that the equivalent of half a million sterling was sent in Roman coinage to India annually.

From Alexandria goods and travellers sailed up the Nile to Koptos. Thence a march of six or seven days across the desert brought them to Myos Hormos on the Red Sea, just outside the Gulf of Suez. This harbour had eclipsed all its rivals in the India trade. Pliny's *Natural History*, completed in A.D. 77, contains an interesting account of the voyage from this port to the coast of India.

Originally, ships from Egypt went as far as Aden only, and there exchanged their cargo for goods from India; but, by the first century A.D., they made the complete voyage. They crept along the south and east coasts of Arabia, passed the Persian gulf and then sailed along the coast of Baluchistan to the mouth of the Indus.

[1] W., 146-8; J., 365-6.
[2] Matt. xx. 26-28; Luke xxii. 26-27; 2 Cor. iv. 5; 1 Cor. ix. 19.

But about A.D. 45 a Greek Captain named Hippalus got to understand the regular monsoon wind which blows strongly *from the south-west* every year from June to September. He therefore made up his mind, instead of skirting the coast, to use the monsoon to take him straight across the ocean *north-east* to the mouth of the Indus. He made the attempt and was carried from Cape Syagros, i.e. Ras Fartak, on the south coast of Arabia, direct to the Delta and landed safely at Pattala, the chief port of that time there. He thus greatly shortened the voyage from Egypt to India. Later, he succeeded, by sailing closer to the wind, in making the gale from the south-west carry him straight across from the Gulf of Aden to Barygazus, the modern Broach, on the Bombay coast, and even to Muziris, on the Malabar coast, far away to the south-east. The voyage from Myos Hormos, at the mouth of the Gulf of Suez, to the coast of India, took about two and a half months. This sea-route from Alexandria to India was as well known to intelligent people in the first century as the Suez Canal route is to-day.[1]

It is very remarkable that, after those great days of the early Roman Empire, travel from Europe to India was never so quick and easy again until about 1830, when the East India Company began to send their mails and a few of their chief officers by *the Overland Route*, i.e. across Egypt from Alexandria to Suez by carriage and thence to Bombay by steamer. At a later date, a railway from Alexandria to Suez shortened the time spent in crossing Egypt. Finally, the Suez Canal, opened in 1869, introduced modern conditions.

Vast quantities of goods from China, Central Asia and Northern India were carried by road through Parthia, Mesopotamia and Syria to the Mediterranean coasts, under the early Empire; and there was also a large trade by sea between the great ports of India and the Persian Gulf.[2]

VII. ALEXANDER TO GŪDNAPHAR.—Alexander built up a vast Empire stretching far into India, but he passed away, and his successors could not hold the lands on the Indus. The Maurya empire fell heir to his conquests east and west of the river.[3]

[1] *T.R.*, Chap. IV.
[2] Rawlinson, *India and the Roman Empire*, 109 ff.; *T.R.*, Chap. VI.
[3] See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I., chaps. xvii.-xx.

But by 200 B.C. that great empire was itself crumbling, and the frontiers could not be guarded. The Greeks of Bactria—a realm which had been conquered and colonized by Alexander—climbed over the Hindu Kush, seized the Cabul valley, crossed the Indus, and conquered the Punjaub. They held these lands for more than a century.[1]

When Mithradates II., the great Parthian monarch, passed away in 88 B.C., Seistan,[2] Arachosia,[3] and other eastern districts, became independent; and from these provinces, about 75 B.C., armies of both Parthian and Scythian blood, starting from Kandahar, marched to the south-east over the Bolan Pass and down to the Indus, and conquered the whole of the lower valley and the Delta. Thereafter, they carried on continuous fighting with the Bactrian Greeks of the Punjaub and North Afghanistan, until they finally got the upper hand and seized both provinces.[4]

This Scytho-Parthian empire was completely independent of the Arsacid dynasty, which was then ruling Parthia and the rest of Western Iran from Hecatompylos and Ctesiphon. There were usually two monarchs of this new empire, each called Great King of Kings, one in Arachosia or Seistan, the other in the Punjaub, and younger princes (always near relatives) were associated with them in the government as Viceroys. By far the greatest of these kings was *Vindapharna*, Greek, *Gondopharnes* or *Gundaphoros*, Aramaic, *Gūdnaphar*, who, originally, under the Great King of Kings, Orthagnes, was Viceroy in Arachosia along with another prince named Guḍa, but in A.D. 19 became Great King of Kings and held the supreme power both west and east of the Indus. He was still ruling in A.D. 45, but we do not know how long he ruled after that, in all probability to some date between A.D. 50 and 55, or even later.[5]

VIII. THE APOSTLE'S VOYAGE TO INDIA.—Ḥabbān and Thomas would start out from Alexandria to sail up the Nile. The next day would bring them to Andropolis—the Andrapolis, where, according to *The Acts of Judas Thomas*, the ship called and they

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I., chap. xxiii.
[2] I.e. Sakastan, "Scythic Land."
[3] Also called Kandahar from its capital.
[4] *Cambridge History*, I., 568-9.
[5] *Ibid.*, 563-78.

landed.[1] Andropolis, the chief city of the Andropolite nome, was a large town in the Delta on the left bank of the Nile. The modern town on the site is called Chabur or Shaboor. If Thomas had been preaching for some time in Alexandria, he might quite well have friends in Andropolis.

Eleven days later,[2] they would reach Koptos, and they would then march over the desert for seven days[3] to Myos Hormos.

The sea voyage would begin early in May. The date may have been 48 A.D. or 49. They would leave Okelis, the last port on the east side of the Red Sea, early in June, and a few days' sailing would take them out of the Gulf of Aden, when they would at once find themselves exposed to the full force of the great seasonal wind from the S.W. They would then have to endure more than a month of the worst sailing in the world, driven furiously over the tempestuous Arabian sea by the irresistible Monsoon, lashed by wild rainstorms, the heat and the damp unendurable, many of the passengers sick and ill day and night.

In those days the only time when voyages were made across the Arabian sea to the East, was the Monsoon months, June to September, the one time which every traveller avoids to-day, if possible.

They would disembark about the middle of July at Pattala, the chief port of the Delta. They would then select a suitable boat,[4] and

[1] W., 148; J., 366. In the Greek text, the phrase "a royal city," follows the name of the town. This seems to be a reference to the fact that, under the Egyptian kings, the revenues of the city formed part of the Queen's income. Smith, *Dict. of Anc. Geography*, s.v. If that phrase was in the written document preserved at Edessa, it may have suggested to the writer of the *Acts* the foolish idea that the Apostle could have royal disciples in this Egyptian city under the Roman Empire! See p. 107.

[2] *T.R.*, 23. [3] *Ibid.*, 24.

[4] Here is what a modern writer says about the Indus boat: "It matters not whether you confine yourself to the great river itself with its broad and open reaches, whether you follow the meanderings of its branching canals into their most intimate silence, or whether you leave both the river and canal and wander over the quiet lakes of the Indus valley. The boat of the valley is everywhere the same in general form. In miniature it is not unlike the punt of Western streams and reed-choked waters, the craft of philosophic ease and contented idling; in larger scale it is an uncouth barbarism, with a great redemption in its towering yard and lateen sail. The fashion of its building is wondrous. Its sides and bottom are first separately completed, and then

in it would slowly ascend the great river for about 1300 miles[1] to some point near the modern Attock, where the railway to Peshawar crosses the Indus. From there a march to the south-east of some forty miles[2] would bring them to Taxila. A month or more would be required for the voyage up the river. They would thus arrive at Taxila about the middle of August.

IX. TAXILA.—Taxila was a notable city centuries before the Christian era. It seems to have been distinguished by its architecture from a very early date; for the Sanskrit form of the name, *Takshaśilā*, means "the city of cut stone." It was the Oxford of early India. Close by, at Śalātura, Pāṇini, India's master grammarian, was born; and he may have been still alive and teaching in the University when Alexander was entertained in Taxila by King Ambhi. The city was then wealthy, populous and well governed. But Alexander marched away to the West; and his lieutenants failed to hold his conquests east and west of the Indus; and the Maurya empire annexed them. Some thirty years after Alexander's visit, Aśoka was stationed at Taxila, ruling the provinces of the north-west as Viceroy under his father, Bindusāra. He would travel the whole way from Pāṭaliputra[3] to Taxila—over a thousand miles—in comfort, on the Royal Road, constructed, for military and commercial purposes, by his grandfather, Chandragupta.

The city retained its great position under successive governments

brought together like the sides of a box; where the bow and stern are to rise the planks are lubricated with a mixture that, combined with applied force, gives them a curve upwards. And the completed boat appears a caricature of river art, picturesque and quaint with her rising ends and great rudder, or oar in place of rudder. She is a thing of strange curves and stranger lines: a fretwork of inconsequent timbers; and as horses and cattle or lumbering camels leap over her low gunwale on to that unprotected bottom, one wonders at the fate that gives her a normal life of seven years. Yet the caricature has its truths and in the quaintest of her barbarisms is an unexpected response to the needs of the river and the dangers of its ever-shifting channels." Abbott's *Sind*, 103. The boat of the first century was probably very much of the same type; and the fisherman from the Lake of Galilee would scrutinize its lines and watch its behaviour with the keenest interest and understanding.

[1] The long river journey would be both possible and safe, because the whole valley from the Himalayas to the sea was controlled by Gūdnaphar.

[2] Taxila railway station, which stands close by the mounds of the ancient city, is 42 miles distant from Attock.

[3] That is the modern Patna.

until A.D. 455, when the Huns destroyed it so effectively that it has never revived.

During the last few years Sir John Marshall has superintended the excavation of certain sections of the great mounds which mark the site of ancient Taxila. Three distinct cities are buried there. The most southerly site, *the Bhir mound*, covers the ancient Hindu city, where Pāṇini taught, Alexander was entertained and Aśoka reigned as Viceroy. Close by, to the north, is *Sirkap*, which was founded by the Bactrian Greeks and was held by the Scytho-Parthians for more than a century. Still farther north, lies *Sirsukh*, which hides the Taxila of the Kushān empire.

Sir John Marshall has laid bare a large part of Scytho-Parthian Taxila and has also excavated the numerous Buddhist stūpas and monasteries outside, which ennoble the plain.

It is a moving experience to wander through Sirkap as exposed by excavation and survey the intricate mass of low walls thus laid bare, the fortifications, the streets, the houses,[1] the shrines[2] and the palace of Gūdnaphar. The mist of nineteen centuries is withdrawn ; the old life rises vividly before the eyes ; and Indians, Parthians and Greeks walk the streets again.

Less than half a mile from the northern gate of the city, on an artificial mound some 25 feet high, stand the walls of a great Zoroastrian temple, 158 feet long by 85 feet wide, recently dug from the heap of earth and stones which had kept them in perfect safety for more than eighteen centuries. The front of the building is adorned with Ionic columns and pilasters, and the plan, except in one particular, is precisely that of a classical Greek temple. It is clear that the architrave, frieze, cornice and roof, which were of wood, were destroyed by fire. The one feature which differentiates the shrine from a Greek temple is a mass of solid masonry, standing between the *naos* and the

[1] Some of these contain so much accommodation that Sir John Marshall suggests that they may have been residences, each housing a Hindu professor and his disciples. The Hindu ideal was that students should reside in the house of their preceptor.

[2] Most of these were Buddhist, but Marshall has found two which he thinks were Jain, and there must have been Hindu temples as well. Note especially the temple of the Sun mentioned in the Life of Apollonius of Tyana : Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, 15.

opisthodomos, of the same height as the walls, but with its foundations reaching down some 20 feet below the floor, in order to support the weight of the high pyramidal tower of stone, which originally crowned the structure, but which was thrown down when the temple was pillaged and burnt. The two lowest flights of the stone stair which led to the top of the tower also remain. In this noble shrine, we may be certain, the Parthian population of Taxila worshipped, and also Gūdnaphar, when in residence in the city.[1]

There must have been a considerable Greek population in Taxila; for the shrines of Sirkap, the stūpas and the Zoroastrian temple outside the walls, and many pieces of plate and jewellery found in the city, prove that Hellenistic art was still eagerly cultivated there. It was in this very province and in the first century of our era, that the earliest images of the Buddha were cut by men of Hellenistic training.[2]

Philostratus, in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, says that Apollonius and Damis, in the course of their travels, visited Taxila. Most classical scholars have emphasized the unhistorical character of many details in the *Life*, and have regarded the visit to India as a myth. It is most interesting to find that Sir John Marshall is inclined to believe that the philosopher did visit Taxila. The remarks made about the palace and the houses of the city in the *Life* are noticeably accurate as far as they go, and "a temple in front of the walls," where Apollonius and Damis are said to have waited until they received permission from the King to enter the city, is described in language which fits the Zoroastrian temple perfectly.

If Apollonius actually reached Taxila, the date of the visit was about A.D. 44.

Ḥabbān, Thomas and the few Parthians who had become Christians, would thus arrive peacefully in Taxila. The Church of Taxila—two or three families of Jewish Christians at most, meeting in Ḥabbān's house—would welcome the Apostle and the converts with joy and deep thankfulness.

X. GŪDNAPHAR AND THOMAS.—If the King was then in Taxila, it would be Ḥabbān's duty, as the King's Trade Commis-

[1] See Marshall's *Guide to Taxila* (Calcutta, 1921), a charming book which ought to be much more widely known.

[2] *Cambridge History*, I., 648.

sioner, to call on His Majesty at once and report what he had been able to accomplish on his voyage to the West. Hence we read in the *Acts*,[1] "And when Judas had entered into the realm of India with the merchant Ḥabbān, Ḥabbān went to salute Gūdnaphar, the king of India, and he told him of the artificer whom he had brought for him. And the King was very glad, and ordered Judas to come into his presence."

It is an interesting circumstance that the remains of the palace of King Gūdnaphar have recently been discovered in the mound of Sirkap at Taxila; so that we know its position, its approximate size, its general plan and the character of its masonry. It stood within the walls, facing the west, its front measuring 352 feet and its depth about 270. "There is nothing at all pretentious in its planning or sumptuous in its adornment," is Sir John Marshall's remark. The purpose of the various sections of the palace can be made out, and noticeably "the hall of public audience" and "the hall of private audience." It is a striking fact that the author of the *Acts* knew that King Gūdnaphar's palace was within the city; for he tells us that, after the interview, the King "took Thomas and went outside the gate of the city," to show him where he wanted to have the new palace built.[2] We may therefore infer that the written document preserved at Edessa referred to the King's palace as within the walls.

Here then, in the hall of private audience, if Thomas went to Taxila, we may be sure he met King Gūdnaphar and his brother. The King probably asked him a few questions about the message he had come to deliver and the methods he proposed to use.[3]

There then follows the mythical tale of how Gūdnaphar took Thomas to a meadow outside the city and explained that he wanted to have his new palace built there. The Apostle agrees that the meadow is a good site, and the King says to him "Begin to build." Thomas replies, "I cannot begin to build at this season." "When canst thou begin?" asks the King. "I will begin," he replies, "in the month Dius," i.e. October-November. The tale is impossible;

[1] W., 159, J., 371. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] The fact that the King himself was a monotheist may have made him sympathetic towards his two Christian friends.

but the date given agrees perfectly with the middle of August as the time of the Apostle's arrival in Taxila.[1]

Within a few years of the arrival of Thomas in Taxila, the whole empire of Gūdnaphar was overthrown by the Kushāns.[2] The destruction was so complete that the very memory of the great dynasty was utterly obliterated. In no ancient history, Indian, Persian or Greek, is there the slightest reference to Gūdnaphar or the earlier kings of the dynasty. Until the spade brought their coins and inscriptions to light, nothing was known about this mighty line of monarchs, except the mention of Gūdnaphar and Gad in the *Acts of Judas Thomas;* and that was believed to be mythical.

The cataclysm may have come shortly after the arrival of Thomas, before a Church of any size could be formed ; but, even if the Apostle had already won a considerable number of converts and had organized a growing Church, the utter destruction of the Scytho-Parthian empire supplies sufficient explanation of the fact that no trace of his work remains in early Indian records.

XI. A Letter to Edessa.—From the very outset Thomas would be able to evangelize. The Greek community of the Capital and others, both Indian and Parthian, who understood Greek would gather round the man who had come all the way from Alexandria to preach the religion of the crucified and risen Jesus. Of this early work we seem to have a single echo in the *Acts*. When the Apostle is about to leave Gūdnaphar's kingdom, we are told that he called the Christians around him and confided them to the care of a man named Xanthippus, whom he had ordained. Since the name is Greek, it is just possible that he may be a real man, one of the earliest converts won in Taxila. If so, then his name was mentioned in the document preserved at Edessa and he is the fifth historical person in the *Acts*.

But the Apostle would inevitably be stirred to the very depths by his surroundings. The Buddhist stūpas and monasteries in the neighbourhood, and the smaller stūpas, both Jain and Buddhist, within the city, the great Zoroastrian temple on its lofty mound, the Hindu University, the Hindu temple to the Sun[3] and other humbler shrines

[1] Above, p. 98.
[2] *Cambridge History of India*, I., 580-85.
[3] Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, 15.

in the narrow streets: all this would bring home to his mind the gigantic task of the evangelization of the Parthian empires, on the one hand, and of the inconceivable population of India, on the other. To which of the two communities was he to turn? The difference in language would make it necessary for him to select one or the other. To attempt both at once would be unwise; and since he had come all the way to India, it would seem that his duty would necessarily be to seek to win the people of India. We therefore think of him as learning the vernacular of the Punjaub with great eagerness, so that, as soon as possible, he may be able to commend to the uttermost the love of Christ to Hindus, Buddhists and Jains. The Hindu University made Taxila the right place for the training of the Apostle of India! As soon as he was able to use the vernacular, he would meet groups of keenly interested educated men, from whose questions and answers he would learn a very great deal about the religious life of India; and day by day he would come to see more clearly how the Gospel of the grace of God had better be commended to the Hindu conscience and heart. He would begin to understand *karma* and *release*, the devotion showered on the gods in Hindu temples, the renunciation of the best ascetics and the working of that most amazing social system, caste.

But, while this seems to be what would most naturally happen, we are altogether without reliable information about the Apostle's work. What is offered us in the *Acts* is plainly undiluted fiction.

But one thing was done about which there need be no doubt. Ḥabbān, in his joy that the Apostle had actually arrived in Taxila, thought of his friend Tobias, and begged Thomas to write to the Church in Edessa, and give them the great news; and Thomas readily complied. Naturally, he would tell about his work in Alexandria, the arrival of Ḥabbān and the train of circumstances which led to his decision to leave the West in the hope of beginning the evangelization of India. He gave some particulars about the voyage from Egypt to the Indus. Naturally, their arrival in Taxila, the Apostle's interview with the King and the work he was then attempting in the capital were briefly described. He would write in Aramaic.

Does it seem too bold to postulate that Thomas wrote a letter from Taxila to the Church in Edessa? There is one very definite

statement in early Syriac literature to the effect that *he sent letters from India;* and there is abundance of indirect evidence that such a letter as we have described lay in Edessa until the close of the second century at least.

In all references to Thomas in literature arising from Edessa, the Apostle is called *Judas Thomas;* and it seems clear that the double name comes from the Apostle's letter. In writing the letter he would inevitably use his own name, and would naturally add to it the word for "twin," which had been so universally used instead of his real name. We may thus conclude that his name was Judas.

The definite statement that Thomas sent letters from India, which were preserved and read in the Church services, occurs in the Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles.* It can be read in Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 32. The passage seems to have stood originally in *The Doctrine of Addai:* see F. Nau, *La Didascalie des douze Apôtres*, Appendices, 230.

How was the letter sent? The King's Trade Commissioner would have ample facilities. Two routes, in normal circumstances, were open. The first was the land route from Taxila, which led over the Indus, up the Cabul valley, over the Hindu Kush and then west to Merv. Thence it led to Hecatompylos, Ecbatana and Ctesiphon, and so on to Edessa. Our knowledge of the relations subsisting between the two Parthian empires at this time is too slight to enable us to say with certainty whether the land route would in those days be safe and speedy or not: it seems likely that it would be quite impossible; but the sea route would certainly be open. Ḥabbān would send the letter down the Indus to some Government official in Pattala, and he in turn would send it, by the captain of the first ship sailing to the Persian Gulf, to some friend or agent of Tobias in Charax Spasini—which is now roughly represented by Basrah. From Charax it would be sent by road to Edessa.

There would be great excitement in the Church at Edessa, when the Apostle's letter arrived and was read at the service on Sunday; and from that day those Christian men and women would feel very closely bound to the daring leader who had carried the message of the Cross into the very heart of Asia. The letter would be frequently read or referred to in the Church services; and the whole community would feel that Judas Thomas was their Apostle, although

he had never visited their city. Every Edessene Christian knew that the land of Thomas's apostolate was India.

But if Thomas actually wrote a letter to the Church in Edessa, how did it not become known throughout the Christian world? How is it that it is not found in the N.T.? The reason is that it was a news-letter rather than a letter of spiritual edification. Therefore, other Christian centres would be less likely to desire to possess copies of it for reading in their churches.

But for the Church of Edessa it had the supremest interest, *first*, because it was a real apostolic letter, *secondly*, because it was addressed to the Edessene Church; *thirdly*, because it was written in Aramaic; and *lastly*, because of the bonds which bound their own beloved leader Tobias to Ḥabbān and the Apostle.

But if they treasured the letter so highly, how is it that it does not survive in Syriac literature? As soon as the first church building[1] was erected in Edessa, the letter would be kept, along with the other apostolic documents (gospels or epistles) which they possessed, in the Church itself; and this Church (the earliest church building of which we have any record) was destroyed by a flood of the river Daisan in A.D. 201;[2] and all the precious MSS. necessarily perished in the disaster.

Since the author of *The Acts of Judas Thomas* was able to copy out the historical details contained in the letter, it seems we may safely conclude that his work must be dated before A.D. 201.

XII. Is the North Indian Apostolate Historical?—Is the story of Thomas, then, as we have told it, historically true? What we have thus far done has been to form a narrative from statements made in the *Acts of Thomas*, with the addition merely of such circumstances as the history of the fifth decade of the first century imposes. The result is a story so natural and realistic that it appears to bear the mark of truth. Yet, though the impression of historicity is strong, we must not confuse possible history with historic fact. It is plain that the story in all its detail *could* have happened; but the question is, *Did it happen?*

[1] The Edessene tradition is that this Church was built by Addai. If the tradition is true, its date was about A.D. 95.

[2] Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, II., 86.

The narrative possesses certain striking features which seem almost to compel us to recognize it as a real history.

(*a*) *The Acts of Thomas* was written at a date from 130 to 180 years after the fall of the empire of Gūdnaphar, and it was written at or near Edessa, which, by road, is almost 2000 miles from Taxila. The accuracy with which the King, his Indian kingdom and his brother are referred to, the accuracy also with which the capital of his Indian kingdom, with the palace within the walls, is alluded to without being named, coupled with the utter oblivion in which the Empire was so soon lost, is, in the circumstances, so striking that we are driven to the conclusion that the author of the Acts must have found in Edessa a *written document* which contained the facts in question—a document which must have been *contemporaneous or almost contemporaneous* with the facts. Scholars will probably accept this conclusion.

(*b*) It is most noticeable that there is not the slightest echo of the fall of the empire of Gūdnaphar in the *Acts*. We can scarcely be mistaken in believing that there was no such mention in the document which the writer used, else he would not have omitted such a tragic part of the tale. Hence we can hardly doubt that the original document was *written before the great catastrophe*.

(*c*) The preservation of the document in the Church of Edessa for a century and a half is scarcely explainable in any other way than this, that *some Christian in the Punjaub had sent it to a Christian friend in Edessa*, and that he treasured it as a most precious fragment of Christian history. Thus Thomas's letter seems to be demanded by the circumstances.

It is quite true that these considerations seem, at first sight, almost to compel us to accept the historical character of the tale; and they certainly greatly strengthen the claim of the narrative to be considered; but the scientific historian must still refuse to capitulate. He will acknowledge that *it is probable that the story is true*, but will stand by the position that, apart from corroborative evidence from an independent source, we cannot be certain.

The sceptic will argue that the facts about the Parthian King may have been preserved in Edessa, in circumstances which we cannot now recover, until the middle of the second century, when Christianity was already strong in the city and in the country round, and that some Christian, whether through an innocent mistake or in gross deceit,

may have then connected the facts with the name of Thomas in a written document, which fell into the hands of the writer of the *Acts* and was used by him. Would not that account for the whole story?

The historical student will at once reply that an Edessene Christian, writing in the middle of the second century, would have inevitably made some gross blunder in trying to sketch events belonging to Egypt and India in the middle of the first century. We have in *The Acts of Judas Thomas* itself striking examples of such inevitable blunders: the author represents the city of Andropolis in Egypt as having a King of its own under the Emperor Claudius![1] He writes as if there were no architect in Taxila equal to the task of building King Gūdnaphar a suitable palace![2]

Yet, though it is impossible to torpedo the evidence in this fashion, the serious scholar will close the question with the demand for confirmatory evidence from some independent source; and two pieces of such evidence can be given.

I. There is a piece of early evidence about Thomas, which, coming, as it does, from the Greek world, is quite independent of *the Acts of Judas Thomas*, the source of which is Edessa, and is therefore well worthy of our attention. Origen, in the third chapter of his *Commentary on Genesis*,[3] says that, according to tradition, Thomas's allotted field of labour was Parthia.

We have here a most curious situation: even on the surface it seems as if Origen and *The Acts* may refer to the same exploit; and so indeed it must be.

The facts are these: Gūdnaphar was a Parthian King, but he ruled in India as well as in Parthia. That is perfectly well known to scholars to-day from the King's own coins and inscriptions. But, when we turn to the documents, we find that the author of *The Acts of Judas Thomas* knew that he ruled in India, but did not know that he was a Parthian and ruled in Parthia also; while the Church of Alexandria knew that he was a Parthian King, but did not know that he ruled in India also. Each has preserved one-half of the truth; but we, with our accurate historical information, can see that the two traditions arose from one historical event.

[1] See p. 84, and p. 97.
[2] See p. 88 and p. 100.
[3] Eusebius, *H.E.*, III., 1.

The source of Origen's information is also plain : the Christians of Alexandria met Ḥabbān, and they realized that he was a Parthian Jew and also Trade Commissioner of the great Parthian King Gūdnaphar, but they did not understand the complicated political situation in the East, nor had they realized that Ḥabbān actually resided in India. Thus Thomas sailed away with Ḥabbān to the East ; but, when, at a later date, the Alexandrian Christians were asked where Thomas had gone, they, very naturally, answered, "To Parthia."

In consequence, then, of this divergence there is in the ancient church one succession of writers who say that Thomas went to India : these are all dependent on Edessa :—

The author of *The Acts of Judas Thomas* (A.D. 180-230).[1]
Ephraim of Nisibis and Edessa in his hymns (*d.* A.D. 373).
Gregory of Nazianzus, Hom. XXXIII.
Ambrose, Ballerini, II., 389.
Jerome, Migne, P.-L., XXII., 588.

There is then another succession of writers who say that he went to Parthia : these are all dependent on Alexandria :—

Origen, *Comm. on Genesis*, III.
The Clementine Recognitions, IX., 29.
Eusebius, *H.E.*, III., 1.
Rufinus, *H.E.*, II., 5.
Socrates, *H.E.*, I., 19.

But this divergence was felt to be rather a serious difficulty. Hence, some early scholar sought to get round it by conflating the two accounts. Thomas was conceived as going eastwards by land, preaching in Mesopotamia, Persia and Parthia on the way and finally reaching India. Here are the chief writers who take this view :—

Pseudo-Hippolytus, *Ante-Nicene Library*, IX., pt. ii., p. 131.
Dorotheus of Beyrout (VIth cent.), *H.E.*, Migne, *P.G.-L.*, XCII., 1071.
Bar-Hebræus (a Syriac scholar of the XIIIth cent.), *Chron. Eccl.*, I., 34.

Yet there can be no shadow of doubt that the overland journey through Mesopotamia, Persia and Parthia to India, which is implied

[1] For many of these patristic references, I am indebted to *India and the Apostle Thomas* by A. E. Medlycott, Bishop of Tricomia, London, 1905.

in these statements, is quite unhistorical; for, although Edessa and Adiabene felt they had a very close connection with the Apostle, *they never suggested that Thomas had visited them.* This single fact is thus sufficient by itself to destroy the theory that Thomas went to the East by the overland route. Since, then, we are able to show that Origen's statement, that the Apostle went to Parthia, depends upon a slight and very natural error, his testimony becomes an independent piece of evidence corroborating the Edessene story that Thomas went to India by sea.

II. There are then a number of historical facts connected with Edessa which seem to prove conclusively the truth of our theory, that a letter from Thomas about his voyage to India was treasured for a century and a half in the city.

(*a*) The Edessenes believed that *their Church stood in peculiarly close relations with the Apostle Thomas*, that he was, in the fullest sense, the friend of the Church of Edessa. This deeply rooted feeling comes out clearly in the extraordinary belief that it was Thomas who sent Addai to them.[1] From the same feeling, that Thomas was *their Apostle*, came the exploit in which a few Edessenes stole the relics of the Apostle and brought them to Edessa.[2]

Where shall we find an adequate cause for this sense of the greatness of Thomas and of his close connection with Edessa, unless we accept the hypothesis that a letter of his describing his voyage to India was one of the most cherished possessions of the Edessene Church?

(*b*) There is evidence in the earliest Syriac Christian texts that the Church of Edessa called the twin Apostle "Judas Thomas."

1. In John xiv. 22 the Greek text reads *Judas, not Iscariot;* but the earliest Syriac version, viz., the Sinai Palimpsest, reads instead of these three words simply, "Thomas."[3] How are we to explain the variation? The author of the Gospel certainly was not thinking of Thomas at this particular point; for he invariably refers to him as "Thomas"[4] or "Thomas who is called Didymus,"[5] and to have

[1] Phillips, *Doctrine of Addai*, 5; Eusebius, *H.E.*, I., xiii., 4, 11; II., i. 6.

[2] Above, p. 83.

[3] Mrs. Lewis, *Light on the Four Gospels*, 162; Burkitt, *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe*, 147.

[4] xiv. 5; xx. 26, 27, 28. [5] xi. 16; xx. 24; xxi. 2.

called him "Judas" in a single instance would have seriously confused his readers. But the translator of the Sinai text had been trained under the influence of Edessa, and had therefore known all his life that the twin's name was Judas; and, concluding that he was the Judas referred to in John xiv. 22, he took the simplest way of indicating the Apostle by calling him "Thomas."

The Sinai Palimpsest is the earliest of all Syriac Christian texts extant: it is believed to come from about A.D. 140. Thus in the earliest piece of literature in which we hear the voice of Christian Edessa, we have explicit evidence that the Church had a special interest in Thomas and believed that his personal name was Judas.

2. In the same passage in the Fourth Gospel, the Curetonian Syriac text, which is believed by scholars to be about fifty years later than the Sinai Palimpsest, reads "Judas Thomas."[1]

3. *The Doctrine of Addai*, the original text of which was probably written about A.D. 200, calls the twin Judas Thomas.[2] This work is completely independent of *The Acts of Judas Thomas*.

4. *The Acts of Judas Thomas*, which is the starting-point of our study, and is very little, if at all, later than *The Doctrine of Addai*, bears the Apostle's double name in its title.

5. Eusebius, when telling the story of Addai, who was also called Thaddeus, writes "To these epistles" (i.e. Syriac MSS. in Edessa) "there was added the following account in the Syriac language, *After the ascension of Jesus, Judas, who was also called Thomas, sent them Thaddeus, an apostle, one of the Seventy.*"[3]

6. Ephraem Syrus, the greatest Christian scholar of the Syriac-speaking lands in the fourth century, in one of his numerous metrical works, quotes John xx. 24, and instead of "Thomas" reads "Judas Thomas."[4]

Thus these quotations make it quite clear that, at least from about A.D. 140, all Edessene Christians called their own Apostle "Judas Thomas." Nowhere else in early Christian circles is his personal name Judas known. Even the Syriac *Diatessaron* does not call him

[1] Mrs. Lewis, *Light on the Four Gospels*, 162; Burkitt, *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe*, 147.
[2] Phillips, 5. [3] *H.E.*, I., xiii., 10.
[4] Burkitt, *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe*, 146-7.

Judas, the reason being that it was prepared at Rome. What is the source of this exclusive and persistent tradition? A letter containing the double name, written by the Apostle himself, and sent by him to the Church in Edessa, is the one natural and sufficient explanation.

(*c*) When, round about A.D. 200, the author of *The Acts of Judas Thomas* sat down, at or near Edessa, to write that work, historical information was available about Gūdnaphar, his Indian kingdom, his brother Gad and his Trade Commissioner, information which, so far as we know, was available nowhere else in the ancient world.

Our reading of the events behind the phantasmagoria of the *Acts* thus reconciles for the first time the divergent traditions of the early Church about Thomas's field of labour; while the letter, which we believe to have been sent from Taxila to Edessa about A.D. 48 or 49, would create the extraordinary feeling and belief of the Church of Edessa with regard to the Apostle, would make his personal name Judas known and would also provide the historical material about King Gūdnaphar, his kingdom and his brother which appears in the *Acts*.

Thus, the tradition which appears in Origen, coupled with these most noticeable historical facts connected with the Church in Edessa, provide the independent testimony necessary to prove the historicity of the Apostle's voyage to India.[1]

[1] We do not discuss in this paper the second section of *The Acts of Judas Thomas*, the reason being that the questions raised by that narrative inevitably involve the whole problem of Thomas's connection with South India.

ON THE STATURE OF OUR LORD.

By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.

THE Christian reader naturally absorbs from the Gospels a sense of the dignity of their Central Figure; he may even accentuate the dignity paradoxically by taking the words of the Psalm in which a Hebrew king is exhorted to "ride on in majesty," and using them in a hymn celebrative of the Triumphal Entry (as it is called) into Jerusalem. Such a transference, however, brings nothing of value for a historical portrait of Jesus, of which we are often sensibly in defect, and not necessarily helped nearer to by our sense of reverence or our desire to adore. For, when we examine the New Testament language carefully in search of words expressive of the majesty and dignity which we feel sure is involved, we find few that will assist either artist or historian. St. Paul will speak to us of having seen the Glory of God in the Face of Jesus Christ; but he was recalling a face that looked out on him from the Heavenlies, not one that had looked in at his windows from his own street. In the same way the Apocalyptic splendour of St. John, where, sunlike, Christ dawned upon him, was a splendour after His death, and perhaps not far removed in time from his own. The writer, who, under the name of Symeon Peter, speaks of having been an eye-witness of His majesty in the Holy Mount was, in any case, referring to an abnormal condition when, for a brief season, Heaven had mastered Earth.

None of these references furnish any answer to the enquiry regarding the personal appearance of Jesus, in the days of His flesh. Neither in the Gospels nor in the subsequent literature have we any satisfactory delineation. The faces and figures we are familiar with in Art are, of course, mere idealizations, and we are not helped nearer to facts by the ecclesiastical historians. Those who write the modern Lives of Christ usually refer to fictitious portraits like the one drawn by Nicephorus of Constantinople, or the still more artificial account which

was said to have been presented by Lentulus to the Roman Senate. Catholic propagandists circulate a portrait which is said to be taken from an emerald presented by a Sultan to a Pope: upon examination it proves to be a copy of the figure of Christ in Raphael's cartoon of the Miraculous Draught of Fishes.

It is interesting, then, and important, to have the question of the personal appearance of our Lord, which Christian Art and Christian History have so assiduously closed, re-opened for us by a quotation in an early Christian document which has just been brought to light. It touches only a part of the larger enquiry, though closely connected with it, but it raises for us the involved question, "What was the actual height of our Lord, according to the measure of men?"

In a recent BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY,[1] Dr. Mingana has translated a Syriac document relating to the diffusion of Christianity throughout the Continent of Asia by Nestorian Missionaries. He rightly observes that "the glory of converting the peoples of Central Asia, and of the Far East, to the Gospel of Christ, and the merit of implanting among them the Western Civilization, based on the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, belong entirely to the zeal and marvellous spiritual activities of the Nestorian Church, which was by far the greatest missionary church the Christian cause has produced." The document to which we refer is one of the many proofs brought forward by Dr. Mingana of the zeal and vitality of the East Syrian Church. As, however, the writing in question, with regard to the Nestorian propaganda, emanated from a hostile church, and is actually inscribed with the name of one of the greatest of the Jacobite or West Syrian teachers, the bishop Philoxenus of Mabbog, it must be read through the mists and clouds of theological rancour and misrepresentation; but even with its enemies as witnesses the Nestorian must surely have been the greatest of Missionary Churches. The document, too, is early, and its original composition can hardly be referred to a later date than the eighth century, a fact which gives its evidence a very high value for the Church Historian. The actual authorship is, however, doubtful. Dr. Mingana is inclined to believe that it was composed, not by Philoxenus, but about A.D. 730-790 by a Jacobite writer living in Baghdad.

[1] Vol. 9, No. 2, July, 1925.

It is not our intention to repeat or to review the study which Dr. Mingana has made on this MS. and related documents. We are very grateful for it, and especially for one illuminating line, which raises afresh this interesting question, to the discussion of which we now address ourselves.

This Jacobite writer has given us, in his diatribes against Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius, a fragment of a hymn which is said to be the work of Theodore himself, and to be taken from a lost hymn of Theodore's, dealing with the nature of Christ and related theological matters. As almost the whole of the voluminous treatises and tracts of Theodore were destroyed by his enemies, we are grateful for every scrap that comes to light, even in a Syriac translation, and though embedded in a mass of historical or hostile statements. In this instance, as we shall see, the fragment is of great importance. Let us examine, then, what our Jacobite writer says. We are told that "the wretched Theodore began to introduce into the Church the teaching of Nestorius (sic! 'the last shall be first') which he had previously embraced, and he wrote the hymn called *The Epiphany of the King* in which he contradicted the Church in teaching openly four persons in the Trinity." So far as the Christ is concerned he holds and believes Him to be a mere man, in saying thus :—

> "Thy stature, O Christ, was smaller than that of the children of Jacob who sinned against the Father who elected Thee, and who kindled the wrath of the Eternal Son who dwelt in Thee, and who angered the Holy Spirit who sanctified Thee."

The writer goes on to observe "it is obvious that he preached four persons in that unholy hymn called *The Epiphany of the King*, viz.: the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit *plus* the Jesus in whom the Eternal Son dwelt.

What concerns us here is the recovery of some sentences from Theodore's hymn, and in particular the statement contained in these, regarding the defect in our Lord's personal appearance. Dr. Mingana shows that the hymn is actually quoted in the Nestorian Breviary under the name of Theodore, so that the reference to our Lord's personal appearance must be credited, as the Jacobite writer says, to Theodore himself. We seek to show that the statement was not of his own invention but one derived from a very early and widely-diffused tradition. The matter is so important that we must scrutinize carefully

both the text and Dr. Mingana's translation of it; the text, in order to recover the original Greek of Theodore's hymn, the translation, in order to get a proper equivalent for the Greek so recovered.

We begin with the expression, "Thy stature was smaller than that of the children of Jacob;" the word rendered "stature" is the Syriac *ḥezwah*, which does not exactly answer to the Greek ἡλικία (*stature*), but would be more nearly equivalent to εἶδος (*appearance, form*). The words "smaller than the children of Jacob" suggest a poetical variation of the Septuagint text of Isaiah 53², where εἶδος also occurs, and there is a contrast in form or appearance with other men; τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον καὶ ἔκλιπον παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ("His form was dishonourable and defective compared with the sons of men.") We see, then, that Theodore is versifying Isaiah, and that the Syriac word "little" is the translator's attempt to render the Greek ἔκλιπον. "Defective appearance" has been interpreted as "deficient height." That Theodore is working on Isaiah is apparent from another minute textual survival. In the Hymn as quoted by Philoxenus (or whoever it may be), it is further said:

> "Blessed be God the Word who came down and put on the Christ, the second Adam, and made Him *as a child* in the water of baptism."

If we turn to the verse of Isaiah, which precedes the one quoted above, we shall find the Septuagint render it,

> "Lord, who hath believed our report,
> And to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed?
> He made announcement before Him, *as a child*."

Theodore is trying to explain the words ὡς παιδίον ("as a child") in Isaiah, and he uses Adoptionist language and makes the day of the Baptism of the Lord, His birthday.

Now let us return to Theodore and the interpretation of "the form that was, from the human standpoint, defective." Is this mere exegetical subtlety, or are we face to face with a traditional account of our Lord's appearance, which goes back to earlier days than Theodore's, and may possibly be historical? Students of early Christian literature will at once remember that this was one of the questions to which Celsus gave his attention, and which Origen discussed after him in his great apology. The argument of Celsus

was, that if a divine spirit had been in Jesus, it would have differentiated him from other men, either in *size* (μέγεθος) or beauty or strength or voice . . .: whereas *they say* that he was small and ill-favoured and ignoble (μικρὸν καὶ δυσειδὲς καὶ ἀγενές).[1] Evidently Celsus is quoting popular tradition about Jesus, and amongst the defects deficiency of stature is specially noted.

Origen's reply is interesting; he is not quite sure about our Lord's littleness (οὐ σαφῶς δηλοῦται ὅτι μικρὸς ἦν), but he is at one with Celsus in the rest of his description, and suggests that Celsus has been reading Isaiah; if so, he argues, he should read further and believe more. For himself, he accepts the statements of the prophet, as to the lack of personal beauty, but he points out, on the opposite side, that there is the Gospel, and in the Gospel, the Transfiguration and the Glory on Mt. Tabor. Even if the outward signs of physical beauty or mental majesty were absent, it was always in the power of the Creator, who is the prime originator of material structures, to transform them in a moment into bodies of glory. The argument is evidence, at least, that Origen did not attempt to refute the assertions of Celsus relating to the stature of our Lord; he only doubted the adequacy of the evidence. More convincingly, but with the same net result as to his personal opinions, he uses the argument that the eye itself needs the training of its own power of vision. The Lord's body appeared to each one of such a nature as it was proper for him to behold it, whether in humiliation or in the surpassing beauty of the Transfiguration. It appears, then, from Celsus' text, and from Origen's replies to it, that the question of our Lord's stature is a question of the second century at the latest.

Before we leave Origen, and his mystical explanation of the Divine Beauty, we think we can show that the matter of his argument is not wholly of his own creation, but that there is reason to believe that the difficulty had been dealt with and resolved, a century before his day, in the manner that he suggests. That suggestion is, that the body of Jesus was susceptible of metamorphosis or transfiguration, and he proves it by the actual Transfiguration in the Gospel. His language is as follows:

"It is not a subject of wonder that matter which is by nature susceptible of alteration and change, and of being transformed into anything that the

[1] Origen, *C. Celsum*, vii., 75.

Creator chooses, and is capable of receiving all the qualities that the artificer desires, should at one time possess a quality answerable to the prophecy "He had no form nor beauty," and at another time be so glorious and majestic and marvellous that the spectators of such surpassing loveliness—three disciples who had ascended with Jesus—should fall upon their faces."

Now let us turn to the *Acts of John* of which Dr. M. R. James has recently given us a new translation. We note, in the first place, that these Gnostic Acts (some passages of which have now been set to music) are, in Dr. James' judgment, *not later than the middle of the second century*. Secondly, we observe, that the writer of the *Acts* has a number of paradoxical statements about Jesus, among which the most significant is that he is subject to instantaneous metamorphosis. Accordingly St. John says:

"Oft-times He would appear to me *as a small man* and uncomely, and then again as one *reaching unto heaven*."

The contrast which the *Acts* present is based upon an interpretation of the Transfiguration, for when Christ anticipated His glory on the Holy Mount, St. John says:

"His head *touched the heaven*, so that I was afraid and cried out, and He, turning about, appeared as *a man of small stature*."

Now this is exactly the interpretation of Origen, but earlier in date; and, as we can hardly suppose that Origen is drawing directly upon the *Acts of John*, we are obliged to conclude that the traditional explanation of Christ's stature as defective, is at least as early as the middle of the second century. It will probably be safe to say that we have now three witnesses from the second century who agree in their belief that our Lord was small of stature, viz., Celsus, the author of the *Acts of John*, and the source from which Origen derives.[1]

It is clear, from the foregoing references, that the early writers are using the miraculous situations in our Lord's life in order to escape from something which belonged to the non-miraculous. Thus we have Origen answering Celsus, in regard to his critical descriptions of

[1] We suspect that the author of these Acts is drawing also on the Septuagint text of Isaiah, for, like Theodore, he tries to explain how our Lord appeared ὡς παιδίον ("as a child"). When James and John are called by Jesus, James says to John, "What is *this child* on the sea-shore wanting with us?" But John replied to him, "You have sea-blindness; don't you see that *a man* is standing there?"

Jesus, by advising the philosopher to remember the Transfiguration. The author of the *Acts of John* does the same, saying significantly that on that occasion the head of Jesus touched the heavens.

The language is, as we say, significant. First of all it implies the transition from small to great which had taken place; this descriptive touch would not have been needed if a contrast had not been required for some other reason. Further, we are reminded of a similar accentuation of height which, according to the *Gospel of Peter*, took place at the Resurrection; for here also, when Christ emerges from the tomb, walking between two angels, his head is said to be *higher than the heavens*,[1] a description which again suggests a physical limitation miraculously transcended. There might almost be said of our Lord's body something similar to what Paul affirms of the general resurrection, that it was "sown in littleness, and raised in grandeur."

If our suggestion of a parallel gnosis in the Gospel of Peter to the Acts of John in the accentuation of our Lord's height has any validity, we shall have added another second-century witness to our former group.

Traces of the same belief may be found in the *Acts of Thomas* to which we shall presently refer, and they are also discernible in another famous apocryphal writing which is referred to the latter part of the second century. In the *Acts of Paul* (tr. James), we find as follows:

c. 3. "He saw Paul coming, *a man little of stature*, thin-haired upon the head, crooked in the legs, of good state of body, with eyebrows joining, and nose somewhat hooked, full of grace; for sometimes he appeared like a man, and sometimes he had the face of an angel.

c. 21. But Thecla, as the lamb in the wilderness looketh about for the shepherd, so sought for Paul: and she looked upon the multitude and *saw the Lord sitting, like unto Paul*, and said, As if I were not able to endure, Paul is come to look upon me."

Here the author of the Acts has produced an artificial similarity between Paul and Jesus, so that one can be taken for the other, something in the same way as Judas Thomas and Jesus become interchanged by twinship in the *Acts of Thomas:* and here also the

[1] It is possible that a similar gnosis may underlie Heb. 7^{26}, where the High-Priest after the order of Melchizedek is said to have *become higher than the heavens.*

small stature of one of the pair is reflected on the other. It seems natural to suppose that the Paul-Jesus identification had its motive in the small stature which tradition assigns to both of them. We have now three Apocryphal works (one of which goes back to the second century), which show traces of a belief in the small stature of our Lord.

And now let us see if we can find any further evidence on the subject more definite than that derived from or supported by the language of Isaiah.

Our next witness shall be St. Ephrem the Syrian, and we may remind ourselves, in approaching the subject from this side, that he has recently been canonised, and that his works have now, in consequence, the authority and the standing of those of a doctor of the Church Universal. He is outside the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (to which our own writings have a natural and accelerated gravitation). No suspicion of unorthodoxy attaches to St. Ephrem, such as might have been felt when either Origen or Theodore was in the witness-box—*Roma locuta est.* And now let Ephrem speak for himself.

In the *Hymni de Ecclesia et Virginibus* (*opp. S. Eph.*, ed. Lamy. iv., col. 632) we find as follows :

"God took human form and appeared *with a stature of three human cubits*, while at the same time sustaining all things. He rose upon us *little of stature.*"

Here we have a definite tradition as to Christ's stature, accompanied by an actual numerical statement. The emphasis is on the *littleness*, and this is involved in the number of the cubits, as we shall presently show. We are certainly not drawing upon the Greek text of Isaiah ; indeed it would hardly be possible for Ephrem to do so, if Isaiah's text is to be that of the Septuagint, for Ephrem's O.T. is the Peshitta which is made from the Hebrew. Moreover, the dimension cannot be explained as the ordinary height of man, for it is certainly in defect. The matter is somewhat complicated by the variation in the cubit, both from country to country and from age to age. For example, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* it is stated that the most probable value of a Biblical cubit is 17·58 inches, a measurement which would make three cubits equal to 52·74 inches, or rather less than 4 ft. 5 inches. Now this can hardly be right ; it would mean

mere dwarfage, so we must look a little closer into possible or probable cubit measures. In Vigouroux' *Dict. de la Bible* s.v. Coudée, we find a statement that the temple cubit contained 525 millimetres and the common cubit 450. This would represent a height, respectively, of 5 ft. 2 inches or 4 ft. 4 inches. It is probable, however, that Ephrem's cubit was that in use in his own city, Nisibin, in his own time, which would be the Persian one. There are two ways of estimating this cubit; one is by reference to Babylonian standards, where the royal cubit stands at 555 and the old at 495 millimetres—the Persian cubit being $\frac{24}{25}$ of the former, say, 532·8; the other, by the popular standard for a cubit (*dra*) in the East, which tells us that a cubit is 24 times the space occupied by six grains of barley placed side by side: (cf. the old English estimate of three barley corns to an inch). In Ivan V. Müller's *Handbuch der Klass. Alterthums*, there is a general summary for the various cubits in use in Asia Minor: the following measures have been detected:—

Cubits of 555, 525, 517·5, 499·5, 495, 444 millimetres, to which we add the Persian, as above, 532·8 millimetres. This last will give us for a height of three cubits, the equivalent of 5 feet 2 inches.

It is evident, then, that according to any computation of Ephrem's cubit, it is his belief that our Lord was small of stature. It is not an allegorical but an actual littleness. In a tract ascribed to St. Ephrem, preserved in Armenian (Ephr. *Arm.*, ii., 278) our Lord's person as well as His Kingdom and teaching is compared to the littleness of the mustard-seed:

> "For our Lord came, He appeared to us as a man *small in stature*, limited, despised, and abject:"

the coincidence with the previous quotation is striking; only we cannot be sure that we are now out of reach of the influence of Isaiah. It appears, then, that both Ephrem and Theodore, when interrogated, tell the same story.

Now let us examine further the Apocryphal literature and see if we can find any other traces of this tradition.

If we turn to the Syriac *Acts of Thomas*, a work, the importance and antiquity of which is known to all scholars, and which belongs to the early part of the third century, we shall find a constant identifica-

tion of Thomas (or, as he is really called, Judas Thomas), as the twin-brother of Jesus. He is affirmed to be the double of the Messiah and like Him in all respects. It is not necessary, for our present purpose, to decide whether this is history or mythology ; but we cannot avoid the conclusion that a writer who held (rightly or wrongly), that Jesus had a twin-brother, must have thought of them as alike in stature ; and therefore, if he believed Judas to be of small height, he must have had a similar belief about our Lord : to credit one with smallness of stature is to imply it in the other, and in fact, in the history, the two are so alike that the one is constantly mistaken for the other. Let us see, then, what is said of Judas Thomas (Judas the Twin) and his appearance. The following passage speaks to the point : *Acts of Thomas*, p. 178 :

"And the Apostle lifted up his eyes, and saw people *raised up one upon another that they might see him, and going up to lofty places.* And the Apostle saith to them, "Ye men who are come to the assembly of the Messiah, men who wish to believe in Jesus, take unto yourselves an example from this, that if ye do not raise yourselves up, *ye cannot see me who am little.*"

It was necessary to climb on some other person's shoulders, or to seek a "coign of vantage," if one wished to see the preacher in the midst of the crowd. No doubt can exist, therefore, as to the Edessan belief about the short stature of St. Jude ; the question that does arise is whether the writer is not imitating the passage in the Gospel of Luke, where we are told that Zacchaeus climbs a sycamore tree in order to get a better view of Jesus. In the language of Luke,

"Zacchaeus sought to see what sort of person Jesus was, and because of the crowd he was not able to do so *since he was little of stature*" (Luke 19^{3}.)

It has almost always been assumed that this means that Zacchaeus was a little man ; but we now see, with the assistance of the eyes of the author of the *Acts of Thomas*, another possible explanation of the passage. Was it Jesus, and not Zacchaeus, who was diminutive of stature ?[1]

[1] Cardinal Mai, in a note on Luke 19^{3}, in the commentary of Cyril of Alexandria, says, "Statura ergo Zachaei pusilla erat, ut nemo hactenus, dubitavit, non autem Christi domini ut hodiernus scripsit qui praepostere fortasse intellexit Vulgati Latini versiculum." Who is the *hodiernus* to whom Cardinal Mai refers ?

It is not necessary to spend more time on St. Thomas; enough has been said to show that when he speaks of his littleness, as he frequently does, he is referring not to his humility of spirit, but to his physical dimensions. And when, by implication, similar terms are used of our Lord, the presumption is that the reference is not to the fact of the Incarnation, but to the stature of the Incarnated. It would be easy to give further illustrations from the Apocryphal literature;[1] but as our enquiry has landed us in the Gospels, and brought us face to face with a situation where there seems to have been almost universal misunderstanding on the part of commentators, we may be permitted to conclude the argument with a conjectural speculation arising from our Lord's own words. He tells us, his disciples, not to be anxious, for "who by anxious care can add a cubit to his stature?" Here the Revisers, with their usual infelicity, have suggested on the margin the addition of a cubit to one's *age*. The older rendering is the more correct. But why should Jesus talk of adding a cubit to one's height? The normal man certainly has no wish for such an augmentation. Was it, then, because His own stature was small? And if so, did He say it with a smile, and with a twinkle in His eye? And may we read "Which of us," instead of "Which of *you* can add to his stature?" Do the MSS. show any trace of variation from ὑμῶν (you) to ἡμῶν (us) in the Sermon on the Mount?[2]

We have said nothing, in our discussion, about the attempts made in later ages to represent the form and features of Christ. For the most part they are obviously inventions; but there is one detail in the account which Nicephorus of Constantinople gives of the Lord which may be historical. He tells us that our Lord's height was fully seven spans. This is either a mistake or else it is a survival of the primitive tradition of defective height. As it stands it is nearly the same as our first estimate from Ephrem; a span being half a cubit, Nicephorus' estimate of our Lord's height as being fully seven spans, means nearly the same as the three cubits of Ephrem: only here it is not the

[1] E.g., in the Coptic Apocryphal Literature, Thomas is frequently spoken of as diminutive, and Jesus calls him "Little Man;" but there is no need to go further than the *Acts of Thomas* in our enquiry.

[2] One of the oldest Latin MSS. (Cod. *a*) omits the words "of you." On the other hand the Oxyrhynchus Gospel Fragment (No. 655) emphasises the "you" but omits the "cubit." According to this Apocryphon our Lord said, "Ye, who can add to your stature?"

Persian cubit but the Graeco-Roman. This would give a height of just over 5 feet 1 inch. It would be well, however, not to lay any stress on Nicephorus' measurements, for he is clearly describing a figure of great dignity, for whom seven spans would not suffice.

We have now shown conclusively, that there was an early tradition of the Church concerning our Lord's defective stature: the question remains whether this may not have been an incorrect deduction from the language of Isaiah, in the fifty-second and fifty-third chapters. We have made it evident that the prophetical terms are involved in the argument, and not only the Hebrew terms, but, by preference, the Greek of the Septuagint. It is in the latter, indeed, that we find the emphasis laid most clearly on the "despect" of our Lord's aspect. In it, also, we have the Hebrew which we render "as a tender plant" interpreted to mean "as a child"; we can see the early expositors at work on the Greek words rather than on the Hebrew; nor can there be any doubt that the Isaian language generally was much in debate in the earliest times, the New Testament itself being witness. What we have to determine is whether a gnostic or early Christian interpretation of Isaiah is sufficient, in itself, to create so widespread a tradition: we may, perhaps, reserve our judgment on the point, knowing how different the early Christian way of writing history is from our own. But on the other hand, there is the testimony of Ephrem, which is certainly not under the influence of the Greek of Isaiah; and contains a numerical specification which was not borrowed from the prophet; and, though more doubtfully, there is the interpretation we have found of the Zacchaeus incident. There is also the evidence of the *Acts of Thomas*, a book not based on Greek documents, but on genuine Syriac. This may stand, so far as it incorporates gnostic tradition, with the *Acts of John* and the *Acts of Paul*. We conclude, then, that we have in Dr. Mingana's new document an actual fragment of trustworthy evangelical tradition. It is too early a tradition to be neglected, and one not sufficiently explained as a deduction wrongly made from the text of Isaiah.

If the foregoing enquiry has led us to a correct conclusion, it is probable that the discovery will throw further light on the New Testament itself. It is not, of course, a creedal matter to affirm that our Lord was short of stature or the contrary; though it may be

admitted that incredulity would be provoked if he came in the form of a giant, and, on the other hand, in the form of a dwarf, he would be grotesque. We are not in fairyland, for, as we have said, we have discovered an actual historical trait. Whether the discovery will re-act on the New Testament is another matter. We will take a single instance. In Luke's version of our Lord's discourse the question is asked why "if ye cannot do *that which is least*, do ye worry about the rest?" Here the commentators are naturally perplexed as to how the addition of a cubit to the height can be called a very little thing. If, however, Luke is reporting from an Aramaic source, we may remember that there is no superlative in that speech, and that a very small change would allow us to read our Lord's question in the form, "If he cannot do this, who is little, why worry over the rest?" This would give intelligibility to Luke, and confirm us in our belief that we are dealing with actual stature. We may also find evidence of the desire to get rid of the belief in our Lord's lowliness of stature by observing how the Greek writers evaded the difficulty when they came to phenomenal situations like the Transfiguration or the Resurrection. For instance, the supplement to Mark, in summarizing the Emmaus incident, says that "he appeared to them *in another form*." And there are traces of the same exegesis in the *Harmony of Tatian*. Nor is it impossible that one reason for the emphasis on the account of the *Transfiguration* in the Synoptic Gospel may be found on the physical plane, as the Gnostic and Apocryphal writers suggest.

To the Greek mind we may note that there was nothing unnatural in the Gnostic suggestion that our Lord's stature was greater at the Transfiguration than normally. They had something of the same kind in Homer. When the shipwrecked Odysseus washes off the brine in the river and anoints himself with oil supplied by Nausican's maidens, we are told that Athena worked a miracle on him, so that he was *μείζονα τ' εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονα*, *Od.* 6, 230, and had undergone, poetically, something of a transfiguration.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

In connection with the foregoing enquiry into the personal appearance and actual stature of our Lord, it will be interesting to examine

a passage in Tertullian (*adv. Marcionem*, iii., 16, 17) which may assist us toward the completion of the argument.

Tertullian, like the other authors, orthodox and unorthodox, Christian and Pagan, whom we have been quoting, has before him, in his dispute with Marcion, the question of the prophetical intimations of Christ in the Old Testament; but he has to face the fact that the Old Testament speaks in two different tongues, according to one of which Christ was "fairer than the sons of men," according to the other "more dishonoured and dishonourable than the sons of men." He had to reconcile the 45th Psalm with the 53rd chapter of Isaiah, before he could throw any quotations from the Old Testament at the head of Marcion. In this difficulty he was not alone; and his solution was not confined to his own argument. Others used it after him, and perhaps it was not his own discovery. The explanation was that the 45th Psalm was to be taken as an allegory of Christ as the Logos (for does it not open with the words, "My heart emitted a good Word"?), while the prophecy of Isaiah was historical The Logos who girds his sword on his thigh and rides forth to conquest, with superhuman beauty and gracious speech, is not the historical Jesus but the heavenly Christ; while, on the other hand, the details of Isaiah's Messianic portrait are given for the actual recognition of the Humiliation and the Incarnation.

If then we had asked Tertullian whether Christ was ὡραῖος τῇ κάλλει, which he renders literally enough as *tempestivus decore*, he would answer in the language of the law-courts with which he was familiar,

"Mihi vindico Christum, mihi defendo Jesum;"

but at the same time, the Christ whom he claims as his own is not David's but Isaiah's.

"Quodcunque illud *corpusculum* sit, quoniam habitum et quoniam conspectum fuit, si inglorius, si ignobilis, si inhonorabilis, meus erit Christus!"

The expressions used are striking; he himself uses Isaiah to justify them; Jesus was a tangible, visible person; he describes him as a "corpusculum." If no question of the Lord's actual stature had been current in the second and third centuries, we might have explained

corpusculum affectionately and pitifully as a "poor body;" but with such a question in the air, it becomes unnecessary to make the diminutive into a figure of speech. It can be taken literally, and probably it ought to be so taken. In that case Tertullian's evidence is added to that of Celsus and the rest who have spoken of the defective stature of the Lord.

A CHARTER OF PROTECTION GRANTED TO THE NESTORIAN CHURCH IN A.D. 1138, BY MUKTAFI II, CALIPH OF BAGHDAD.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY A. MINGANA, D.D., ASSISTANT KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

WE give in the following pages the translation of an official document of some importance. It is an original copy of a charter granted by the 'Abbasid Caliph Muktafi II (1136-1160) to the Nestorian Patriarch 'Abdishō' III (1138-1147), and its wording settles a question that interests a large section of mankind.

The need has always been felt for an authoritative statement throwing light on the relations between official Islam and official Christianity at the time when Islam had power of life and death over millions of Christian subjects. Individual Christians may have suffered persecution at the hand of individual Muslims; isolated cases of Christian communities suffering hardship through the fanaticism of a provincial governor, or a jurist, or the hallucinations of a half-demented Sheikh or Mullah are also recorded in history; a Caliph or two—such as Mutawakkil—did, certainly, subject the Christians to some vexatious measures; but such incidents, however numerous, are to be considered as infractions of the law, and the men who brought them about were breakers of the law, as all criminals are breakers of the law.[1] The statutory attitude of Islam on this subject is laid down in clear terms in the present document which proves beyond the possibility of doubt that, however imperfect official Islam may have been in some social aspects, statutory intolerance was not among its defects. The charter emanates from the chancery of an 'Abassid Caliph, but *mutatis mutandis* could an English King, a

[1] See, however, T. W. Arnold in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion*, 1921, xii., 365-369.

Dutch Queen or a French President write in the twentieth century a more tolerant charter in favour of their numerous Muslim subjects? It is not the Ḳur'ān that was the cause of some cases of persecution of Christians in early times, nor of their wholesale massacre in contemporary history, any more than the Gospel was the inspiring factor of the barbarities of the Inquisition. Politics, personal ambitions, or economic expediency should not be confused with religion.

The charter was written in the twelfth century (more precisely in A.D. 1138) but the Caliph who granted it states that he is following in the steps of the first four Caliphs after the Prophet, and copying the model of all the 'Abbasid Caliphs, his predecessors. The praiseworthy keynote of tolerance that runs through it is therefore that of all the Muslim Caliphs, and not of one of them only. This is best illustrated by the memorable sentence of the Nestorian Patriarch Isho' Yahb III (A.D. 650-660): "The Arabs to whom God has given at this time the government of the world . . . do not persecute the Christian religion; on the contrary they favour it, honour our priests and the saints of the Lord, and confer benefits on churches and monasteries."[1]

The Charter sheds also great rays of light upon the procedure followed in the election of the Nestorian Patriarchs, the most important ecclesiastical dignitaries under Islamic domination.

The MS. of which we give a complete set of facsimiles is Arab. 694 of the John Ryland's Library. The text of the charter is preserved as a model of good Arabic composition in the anthology entitled *Tadhkirah* and compiled by Ibn Ḥamdūn who died in A.D. 1167. The author informs us that it was composed by his own brother, evidently the one called Abu Naṣr, the secretary of the Caliphs, who died in A.D. 1150.[2] Portions of this voluminous work are found in a more or less truncated form in some public libraries of Europe, the most complete being that preserved in the British Museum, and dated A.D. 1596.[3] The Rylands MS. seems to be the oldest in existence, as palæographically it cannot be much later than A.D. 1200. It was thus written some forty years after the death of the author.

[1] In *C.S.C.O.*, lxiv., 251, and in Assemani, *Bib. Orient.*, iii., 121.

[2] See Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt* (life 665; vii., 66-67, edit. Wüstenfeld); *Kāmil*, xi., 217; *Haj. Khalfa*, ii., 253.

[3] See Rieu's *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the British Museum*, Nos. 1137-1138, pp. 715-718.

الائمة المتقدمون رضوان الله عليهم عهدكم والكم
وان يقتصر في استيفاء الجزية على ما لهم من العقلاء
البالغين من رجالكم دون النساء ومن لم يبلغ الحلم من اطفالكم
ويكون استيفاؤها واحدة في كل سنة من غير تعدد ولا تأخير في
قبضها عن وقتها المشروع المستحسن وفسح في ان يتوسط
طوائف النصارى في محاكمتهم فيأخذ التصفح في الفوت
للمستضعف ويقود الى الحق من مال الى المغبط والجنف
وينظر في وقوفهم منظر القوم بحقوق الامانة واشد اطلاعها
ويمضي على ما صح حدها وسوت صراطها فقابل هذا الانعام
الذي شملك وحقق ما كان فيما نأمله لك نفسك ابده وامله بدعة
يثني عن الاعتراف بنعمه ويبدع في الاخلاص في شكره
سيل كافة المطارنة والقسيسين والاساقفة ومن
الطوائف المذكورة ان يحمدوا الله على ما انعم به في هذا
المثال ويتلقوه بالقبول والامتثال

وانفراده عن كافة اهل بخلك بنقص اهيبة الخلعة المتعارفة
في اماكن صلواتكم وجامع عبادتكم غير مشاركة في
هذا اللباس ولا مشروع في التحلي بسلطانه اعم اسفق
او سماء بين خطاهم عن ربهم وقوفا بهم دون محل الذلة
خصصت به ومنزلتك وان رجا احد من المذكورين
باب المجاذبة لك والخلاف وراع سرب المتابعة لك واخاف
وابي النزول على حكمك وعدك التجرع عن سلمك
كانت المقابلة به لاحقة والعقوبة به على شقاقه جانبة
حتى تعتدل سقاته وتلين بالفزع صفاته ويزدجر
امثاله عن مثل مقامه ويحترس فاتونك مما يقدح في
نظامه وامر يحملك على مقتضى الامثلة الامامية في
حق من تقدمك من الخالفة وسبقك وادراك امرك عليه
ومن تلاك منهم وخلفك والحياطة لك ولاهل ملتك
في الانفس والاموال واجراء الكافة لكم بصلاح
الاحوال واتباع العادة المستمرة في مواراة اموالكم
وحماية بيضكم وديارانكم والعمل في ذلك على المماثلة
التي عمل عليها الخلفاء الراشدون ممن سلكم ورعى بها

حالياً بشروط الحلفة المتعارفة عندهم هادا نها مشهورا
لك بعونها الكاملة وصفاتها وحضر جماعة من النصارى
الذين يرجع اليهم في الاستعلام سيرة امثالك واستطلاع
اتيا مضارعك واشكالك وذكروا انهم تصفحوا احوالك
دوو الديانات فيهم واستثنوا باديهم منها وخافيهم بحكم
مباشر طاحتهم الى جانبك سطروا في امورهم وبراعت
مصالح جمهورهم فاتفقوا باجماع من آرائهم والتياع من قلوبهم
واهوائهم على اختيارك للرياسة عليهم ومراعاة شئونهم
وتدبير وقوفهم والتسوية في عدل الوساطة بين فريقهم
وضعتهم وسألوا مضائضهم غليك بالاذن الذي به تستقر
قواعده وتصدق مواعده وتستحكم مبانيه وتقوى واخيه
فاوعز باسعافهم فيما سألوه بالاجابة والحافهم فيما طلبوه
بجناح الاطلاق وبرز الاذن الامامي الهاشمي لازالت
اوامره بالتوفيق معقودة بسببك جانبا لسطور
النصارى بمدينة السلام ومن يضمه منهم ديار الاسلام
وزعمائهم ومن عداهم من الروم والبقاعية والملكية
في جميع البلاد وكل حاضر من هذه الطوائف في باد

بالعدوان على الدعاء الايادي وبسط آمالها بعد الانقباض
واحصدت من ابرها وهو يستوزع الله تعالى شكر هذه
النعمة ويستجزل التحدث بها حظ منها وقسمه وما
توفيقه الا بالله عليه يتوكل واليه ينيب وان امير
المؤمنين ما وكله الله اليه من امور عباده وحمله اعباءه
في ارضه وبلاده يرعى الذمة من اهتمامه عيانا يرتطي
ويوليها في عامة منصرفاتها حراسة شاملة وحفظا
ويتفقد اخوالها فتقد ابطأ اخوالها ويصل حبالها
ويعقب مبرمها وينكث مبرادها ويعم بذلك عموما
يستوي فيه المسلم منها والمعاهد والذمي والمتبايعد
وطوائف الملل من اهل الكتاب الذين حفر عهد الشرع
وذمته وكنفهم حياطته وحمايته لفيء عليهم ظل الحسنى
باجمعهم ويعتدل مزاهر في النظر لهم مسمعهم ولما
انهيت حالك الى امير المؤمنين وانك اسأل اهل بلدك
طريقة واقدمهم الى الصلاح مذهبا وخليقة واحوطهم
للاهل التي اجتمعوا عليها على تميزك عنهم وانفرادك في
استحقاقك للاسعاف من بينهم بمأمولك ومرادك ولذلك

على الكتاب المستقيم لمتبعها ما فيه من الهدى والتبيان
تصديقا لقوله عز وجل هو الذي أرسل رسوله بالهدى
ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
فصلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه صلاة تزلف محله وتوازن
سنا قدره وفضله ما طرف طرف النهار بسدفة العشي
وصرف صروف المكروه بلطف الله الخفي والحمد لله على أن
جاز لأمير المؤمنين من شرف الكلام ميراث آبائه وأعمار
اليه منها ما هو أحق بأن تكون ردائه وسواه من الإمامة المحيطة
منتهى أنجاد الحياة سيد الجلاله وتنسب مفاخر الدين
والدنيا الى جلاله واطلع بالليله نجوم العدل فما تغور وأعام
بها أسواق الخيرات فما تكسد بضايع طالبيها ولا تبور
وحمي بحسن رعايته حمى الدين فما يذعر سربه ولا يكدر
شربه ولا يفك عربه ولا يبل بحربه وخص الرعية
من رأفته بمنحة أرهفت شباتها ونقفت بعد الالتواء
قناتها وجمع انسان صلاحها وبسدت دواعي ملاحها
فهي محوطة في كنف عدله مغبوطة بخير وجهها من حيز
العيش الى سهاله بنعمه التي سحدت في الطاعة بصائرها

في العلوف

وهدايته ومعجزات البراهين على عجايب حكمته
ما ابهرت عقول العقول والبصاير وسهرت القلوب العارفة
والضماير انه لم يتخذ صاحبة ولا ولدا ولا شارك فعله
احدا ولا ولد فيكون مولودا ولا ولد فيكون محدودا سبحانه
وتعالى عما يقول الظالمون علوا كبيرا والحمد لله الذى
اختار محمدا من اشرف العرب منصبا واكرمها امتا
واطيبها بقعة بالبرهان السلطع والحق الساطع والحجج الواضحة
والدلايل الصالحة والناس في مجاهل الضلالة جايرون
وعن مناهج الهدى جايرون على حين فترة من الرسل واشتباه
من السبل وتغرق من الملل واستمرار من الزيغ و
الزلل فلم يزل الامر به مبلغا وبجهده في امحاض النصيحة
للامة مستفرغا حتى طمس معالم الباطل ودفع عن وعر
الصراح الى الماطل واضحى الاسلام بعد نوعة غايته
منتشرة في الاقاصي دعوته مؤيدة بالنصر المبين
كلمته واخبر الله تعالى وعده في اعلاء دينه على
الدين كله واظهاره واعز اشياعه وانصاره ونسخ
الملل السالفة بملته التي ختم بها الاديان وانزل

وتأكد لديه من الموضع والمرتبة ليعرف حقه ويطيع
امره ويجتنبه على افضل رسوم امثاله واكمل سنن اشكاله
وان كان عبد امير المؤمنين معدوم الشبه والمثل والنظير
والعدل وان تمثل كتبه اذا وردت عليك ورسم ما
يصدره اليك عن امير المؤمنين ان كان السفير بينه وبينك
من لا معدل لك في كل الامور عنه فاعلم ذلك واعمل به
ان شاء الله وكتب حامد بن العباس

نسخة جائلق من انشا احمد رحمه الله

هذا كتاب امر بانشائه سيدنا ومولانا امير المؤمنين
لعبد يسوع الجائلق المخطرك امابعد فالحمد لله
المنعم احسانه العظيم سلطانه الواجب بحمده الغالب
بجنده الكامل فضله الشامل عدله المعروف
بغير رؤية ندركه ولا بنظر الخالق من عبوديته
بحيلها ولا بتكدر العلم الاشياء ما ظهر منها وما بطن المتعالي
عن التكييف بعد الاوهام وغوص الفطن الذي ابتدع
المخلوقات على غير مثل واخترع المصنوعات بغير
قياس اشهد ولا دليل واقام من شواهد البنيان على

The Charter is composed in rhymed prose and in a highly florid style. Our translation, although literal, is sometimes free and gives only the broad sense of the text.[4]

Translation.

[Copy of the Charter to the Catholicos, composed by my brother, may God have mercy upon his soul.]

This is the Charter granted by our master and Sovereign, the Commander of the Faithful, to 'Abdīsho', Catholicos and Patriarch.

Praise be to God whose bounty is universal and whose power is great, whose praise is obligatory and whose followers are victorious, whose attributes are perfect and whose justice is all embracing. He is known without an eye having ever perceived Him, He created the world spontaneously without revolving thoughts and cogitations in His mind, and He comprehends the nature of all things, visible and invisible. He is high above the pictures that our imagination may form, and the subtle subjects that our mind may apprehend. He made the universe without previous pattern, and created all things without pre-existent plan. In favour of His oneness He set in order an imposing array of cogent proofs, and in favour of His transcendant wisdom He produced wonderful testimonies which strike our inner mind and intelligence, our perceiving heart and discerning conscience, and compel us to proclaim that He has no consort and no son, and that He is not in partnership with anyone through whom He may be circumscribed or conceived to have an offspring. The Most High is far above what is attributed to Him by the ignorant.

Praise also be to God who chose Muḥammad from the most honourable Arabian stock, and distinguished father and mother; who sent him with irrefragable proof, resplendent truth, and clear evidence, at a time when mankind was immersed in the ignorance of aberrations and straying from the right direction, and at a time when there was an interruption in the ministry of apostleship and the

[1] *Shar'* is the sacred law of Islam, and *Dhimmah* refers to the "covenant of Protection" through which the *People of the Book* were allowed to live in peace in a Muslim country, and even protected, by their payment of the capitation tax.

bewildered religious sects were on the increase and fast clinging to their errors. The word of God prospered through him ; he emptied it in the reservoirs of truth of the Arab nation, until the waymarks of falsehood were submerged and the crookedness of those who procrastinated in the matter of their conversion was obliterated. The roots of Islam spread then to all directions and its divine mission was established through a victory the upshot of which is known to all. The Most High God fulfilled then His promise by making his religion prevail over every other religion, by consolidating its triumph, by strengthening its followers and adherents, and by abrogating all the preceding religions, which thus came to an end through his religion.

In confirmation of His promise the Most High revealed also to him the Book with all the guidance and testimonies of truth that it contains for the followers of His religion. *It is He who has sent His Apostle with guidance and true religion to make it prevail over every other religion, however averse the polytheists may be* (Ḳur. ix., 33). God blessed him, therefore, and his family and his companions, with a blessing that enhances his prestige and is in keeping with his dignity and his merits, as long as evening follows morning and calamities are removed by the hidden grace of God.

Praise also be to God who invested the Commander of the Faithful with the glory of the Caliphate—the inheritance of his fathers—and clothed him with its robe : the best of all favours ; who made him take possession of the high office before which faces fall down in awe and on account of which the honours of religion and state are offered to him ; who caused the stars of justice to shine in the firmament without setting, under his administration, and gave a vigorous impulse to commercial undertakings so that their marketable commodities should suffer no restriction and no diminution to buyers.

By his prudent government he has defended the inviolable land of the faith so that its flocks should be under no fear, and the purity of its water should suffer no pollution, that the sharp edge of the sword of the faith should bear no notch and its adherents should not be smitten by any calamity. He has further been gracious to single out his subjects for a gift which warded off all harm from them, straightened their spear after it had twisted, brought together the scattered remnants of their prosperity, and nurtured the causes of their progress. They are surrounded by the arm of his justice, pleased

that by his favours they have shaken off unhappiness and entered into the path of comfort and ease. In their abundance they have firmly set their heart to obey him and to pray for his ancestors; they have raised their expectations after the restrictions imposed upon them, and have crushed those of their enemies who had assailed them. He, on his part, only asks God to inspire his subjects with gratitude for this gift, and his constant mention of it is a sign that he esteems very highly his share in it; his success is exclusively through God: in Him he has placed his confidence and to Him he will eventually return.

Because God has placed in the hands of the Commander of the Faithful the management of the affairs of His servants, and laid on him the burden of His land and His countries, he governs his subjects with vigilant eyes, watches over their welfare with great care, and works for their prosperity with a solicitude which removes all their anxiety, joins all their ropes together, fills their pastures with grass, and fulfils all their eager desires. In this solicitude participate not only Muslims but also those with whom he is on terms of alliance whether they be near or far, and those of his different subjects from the *People of the Book* who stand within the limits of the terms of the "pact of protection" guaranteed by the convention of the *Shar'*, concerning the *Dhimmah*. The shadow of his kindness extends to them all, and to it their eyes and their ears bear witness.

I brought thy petition to the notice of the Commander of the Faithful and informed him that thou wast the worthiest of thy people in devotion and the nearest of them all to goodness in saintliness and other accomplishments, and that thou wast possessed of qualities and merits which singled thee out from all of them, and that thou hadst contained in thee all the pre-requisites, provisions, and qualifications of the Catholicate, known to thy people. With me there was a deputation of Christians well versed in the regulations affecting this high office, and they submitted that after a careful and searching examination of thy claim they had come to the conclusion that they were in need of a Catholicos to look after their affairs and minister to their collective needs, and that by a spontaneous and unanimous decision they had elected thee to the headship of their religion for regulating their affairs, satisfying their needs, and rendering justice to the strongest and the weakest among them. They asked for the

confirmation of thy election in form of a charter which would place it on solid basis and unassailable foundations.

The Commander of the Faithful ordered, therefore, that their request be granted and their wish be gratified. The Charter of the highest *imamate* of Islam—may its orders be always crowned with success—is hereby granted thee to be the Catholicos of the Nestorian Christians inhabiting the "City of Peace" and all the lands of the countries of Islam; thou art empowered to act as their head and the head also of those Greeks, Jacobites, and Melchites, whether represented here or not, who might oppose them in any country; thou art singled out from all thy co-religionists to wear the known insignia of the Catholicate in your Churches and meeting houses of your devotions, without any Archbishop, or Bishop, or Deacon, having right to wear them or share them with thee: they are a mark of their dependance on the dignity and the high office to which thou hast been promoted. If any of the above-mentioned clerics enters through the door of contention with thee and recalcitrance against thee, or treads in the path of revolt against thy orders, or refuses to accept thy decisions, or disturbs thy peace, he will be prosecuted and punished for his conduct, until he retraces his steps and his obstinacy is broken, in order that others may be deterred from adopting a similar course and the enactments of your Canons may be preserved in their entirety.

Following the precedent sanctioned by the imams, his predecessors, in their dealings with the Catholicoi, thy predecessors, the Commander of the Faithful does also hereby bestow upon thee and upon thy followers the statutory prerogatives: thy life and property and those of thy people will be protected; great care will be taken in the promotion of your welfare; your ways of interring your dead will be respected, and your Churches and monasteries will be protected. In all this we are in conformity with the method adopted by the Orthodox Caliphs with your predecessors, a method that has been followed by the high imams, my predecessors—may God be pleased with them—in their interpretation of the terms of our Convention with you: that we shall be satisfied with you by your payment of the capitation tax, levied upon the males of your community who have passed the age of minority, and who are rational and solvent; that all your females and your males in their minority shall be exempt from it; and that it shall

be levied once a year in strict conformity with the kindly rules of the *Shar'*.

The Commmander of the Faithful was also gracious to be willing to mediate between the different Christian communities in their law-suits in order to exact justice from the strong in favour of the weak, and to direct to the right path any one who was straying from it; to look after them according to the requirements of fealty demanded of them, and to follow it in its clear path and straight course.

Be thou worthy of all these favours granted to thee, which fulfil the desires of thy soul, and set up prayers and invocations for the Commander of the Faithful as a token of thy gratitude and a sign of thy allegiance. It is also the duty of all the Archbishops, Priests, and Bishops of the above-mentioned denominations to show submission in this way to the Commander of the Faithful, and to meet his kindness with subordination and obedience.

NEW LIGHT UPON LUCRETIUS.[1]

By J. P. POSTGATE, Litt.D., F.B.A.

EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL; PRESIDENT OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

MARTIN SCHANZ, the author of the premier history of Latin Literature throughout the whole of its course, writes thus upon Lucretius: "Without doubt Lucretius and Catullus are the greatest Poets of Rome."[2] Without either accepting or rejecting a judgment which places Vergil below him, thus much may we say, that as a poet of unsurpassed intensity and clearness of imagination, as a scientific teacher whose utterances are even in our own days accorded the tributes of study and respect, and as a preacher of high ideals to a disillusioned and war-weary world, the author of the only comprehensive treatise upon Natural Philosophy by an ancient Roman has a triple claim upon our attention that no one of his countrymen can show.

Our interest in his personality is heightened by a mystery which enshrouds his life. St. Jerome, in his edition of the Chronica of Eusebius, chronicles under the year 95 B.C. that he lost his reason through drinking a love philtre, that in the intervals of his madness he wrote several books of his poem, afterwards edited by Cicero, and that he died by his own act in the 44th year of his age. Over the credibility of this narrative a fierce controversy has raged, into the details of which I cannot enter to-day. In its capital statement there is nothing to shock the reason intrinsically. It is a melancholy truth that insanity dogs the steps of genius. For, as Dryden wrote long ago,

> Great wits are sure to madness near ally'd
> And thin partitions do their bounds divide.

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 11 November, 1925.
[2] M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, Vol. 1, § 95.

In the present instance the traditional account has been recently challenged by a distinguished physician and man of letters. Sir Wm. Osler, in his address to the Classical Association at Oxford in May, 1919, declared himself as follows :—

"Of love-philtres that produce insanity we may read the truth in a chapter of that most pleasant manual of erotology, the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Of insanity of any type that leaves a mind capable in lucid intervals of writing such verses as *De Rerum Natura* we know nothing. The sole value of the myth is its casual association with the poem of Tennyson."[1]

Compare with this vehement protest the mild and hesitating pronouncement of an accomplished and sympathetic critic of Latin poetry, the late Professor Sellar. "These considerations do not lead to the absolute rejection of the story. The evidence afforded by the poem rather leads to the conclusion that the tradition contains some germ of fact."[2] And it is plain at once that the question is still open. Let us see if we can close it to-day.

When the external evidence for any proposition is in dispute and from the nature of the case cannot be examined, it is natural to seek for internal, and in the present instance to inquire whether there is anything in the poem itself to lend support to the statements of Jerome. The poem is admittedly unfinished as he implies. It contains a number of needless, one might almost say, unmotived duplications and redundancies, both of lines and whole passages. In not a few places there is evident incoherence and disarray. Its diction not seldom impresses us as abnormal, over-strained and oddly intense. We see a writer who was subject to hallucinations insistent, vivid, and affrighting. Such indications are compatible with the hypothesis of interruptions of sanity, perhaps indeed they corroborate it to a certain extent. But they are insufficient to establish it against a stubborn opponent.

The passage of the poem which I now propose to examine has never, so far as I know, been considered in reference hereto. I transcribe it in full, together with the context on either side of it, both in the Latin original and also in the prose translation of one of our greatest Latin scholars, H. A. J. Munro, who had no inkling of

[1] *Proceedings of the Classical Association*, Vol. 16, p. 25.
[2] "Encyclopædia Britannica," s.v. Lucretius, Vol. 17, p. 107b.

its peculiar character, except that for six lines, omitted by Munro, I have given the version of Dr. Rouse, the latest English translator of Lucretius.

LUCRETIUS V. 1283—1360.

(1283—1307) Arma antiqua manus ungues dentesque fuerunt
et lapides et item siluarum fragmina rami
et flamma atque ignes, postquam sunt cognita primum.
posterius ferri uis est aerisque reperta.
et prior aeris erat quam ferri cognitus usus,
quo facilis magis est natura et copia maior.
aere solum terrae tractabant, aereque belli
miscebant fluctus et uulnera uasta serebant
et pecus atque agros adimebant ; nam facile ollis
omnia cedebant armatis nuda et inerma.
inde minutatim processit ferreus ensis
uersaque in obprobrium species est falcis ahenae,
et ferro coepere solum proscindere terrae
exaequataque sunt creperi certamina belli.
et prius est armatum in equi conscendere costas
et moderarier hunc frenis dextraque uigere
quam biiugo curru bellis temptare pericla
et biiugos prius est quam bis coniungere binos
et quam falciferos armatum escendere currus.
inde boues Lucas turrito corpore, taetras,
anguimanus, belli docuerunt uolnera Poeni
sufferre et magnas Martis turbare cateruas.
sic alia ex alio peperit discordia tristis,
horribile humanis quod gentibus esset in armis,
inque dies belli terroribus addidit augmen.
(1308—1349). *Temptarunt etium tauros in moenere belli*
expertique sues saeuos sunt mittere in hostis
et ualidos partim prae se misere leones
cum doctoribus armatis saeuisque magistris
qui moderarier his possent uinclisque tenere,
nequiquam, quoniam permixta caede calentes
turbabant saeui nullo discrimine turmas,
terrificas capitum quatientes undique cristas,[1]
nec poterant equites fremitu perterrita equorum
pectora mulcere et frenis conuertere in hostis.
inritata leae[2] *iaciebant corpora saltu*
undique et aduersum uenientibus ora petebant
et nec opinantis a tergo deripiebant
deplexaeque[3] *dabant in terram uolnere uictos,*

[1] 1315 rejected by Lachmann. [2] *Leae, leones* in 1310.
[3] *Deplexae*, verb not found elsewhere.

LUCRETIUS V. 1283—1360.

(From the prose translation of H. A. J. Munro, and for lines 1341—1346 from that of Dr. W. H. D. Rouse).

(1283—1307) Arms of old were hands nails and teeth and stones and boughs broken off from the forests, and flame and fire, as soon as they had become known. Afterwards the force of iron and copper was discovered; and the use of copper was known before that of iron, as its nature is easier to work and it is found in greater quantity. With copper they would labour the soil of the earth, with copper stir up the billows of war and deal about wide-gaping wounds and seize cattle and lands; for everything defenceless and unarmed would readily yield to them with arms in hands. Then by slow steps the sword of iron gained ground and the make of the copper sickle became a by-word, and with iron they began to plough through the earth's soil and the struggles of wavering war were rendered equal. And the custom of mounting in arms on the back of a horse and guiding him and showing prowess with the right hand is older than tempting the risks of war in a two-horsed chariot and yoking a pair of horses is older than yoking four or mounting in arms scythed chariots. Next the Poeni taught the Lucan kine (*elephants*) with towered body, hideous of aspect with snake-like hand to endure the wounds of war and to disorder the mighty ranks of Mars. Thus sad discord begat one thing after another, to affright nations of men under arms and every day made some addition to the terrors of war.

(1308—1349). *They made trial of bulls too in the service of war and essayed to send savage boars against the enemy. And some sent before them valorous lions* (leones) *with armed trainers and courageous keepers to guide and to hold them in chains; but in vain, since heated with promiscuous slaughter they would disorder in their rage the troops without distinction,* (1315) *shaking all about the frightful crests upon their heads; and the horsemen were not able to calm the breasts of the horses scared by the roaring and turn them with the bridle upon the enemy. The lionesses* (leae) *with a spring would throw their enraged bodies on all sides and would attack in the face those who met them, and others off their guard they would tear down from behind and twining round them* (deplexae) *would bring them to the ground overpowered by the wound,*

morsibus adfixae ualidis atque unguibus uncis,
iactabantque suos tauri pedibusque terebant
et latera ac uentres hauribant supter equorum
cornibus et terram minitanti fronte[1] *ruebant.*
et ualidis socios caedebant dentibus apri,
tela infracta suo tinguentes sanguine saeui,[2]
in se fracta suo tinguentes sanguine tela,[2]
permixtasque dabant equitum peditumque ruinas.
nam transuersa feros exibant dentis adactus
iumenta aut pedibus uentos erecta petebant,
nequiquam, quoniam ab neruis succisa uideres
concidere atque graui terram consternen casu.
si quos ante domi domitos satis esse putabant,
efferuescere cernebant in rebus agundis
uolneribus clamore fuga terrore tumultu,
nec poterant ullam partem redducere eorum ;
diffugiebat enim uarium genus omne ferarum ;
ut nunc saepe boues Lucae ferro male mactae
diffugiunt, fera facta suis cum multa dedere ;
si fuit ut facerent. sed uix adducor ut ante[3]
non quierint animo praesentire atque uidere,
quam commune malum fieret foedumque, futurum;
et magis id possis factum contendere in omni
in uariis mundis uaria ratione creatis
quam certo atque uno terrarum quolibet orbi.
sed facere id non tam uincendi spe uoluerunt
quam dare quod gemerent hostes ipsique perire
qui numero diffidebant armisque uacabant.

(1350—1360). Nexilis ante fuit uestis quam textile tegmen.
textile post ferrumst, quia ferro tela paratur,
nec ratione alia possunt tam leuia gigni
insilia ac fusi radii scapique sonantes.
et facere ante uiros lanam natura coegit
quam muliebre genus; nam longe praestat in arte
et sollertius est multo genus omne uirile;
agricolae donec uitio uertere seueri
ut muliebribus id manibus concedere uellent
atque ipsi pariter durum sufferre laborem
atque opere in duro durarent membra manusque.

[1] *minitanti mente*, the manuscripts.
[2] 1327-1328. One or both of these lines have been rejected by editors.
[3] Lines 1344-1346 were rejected by Lachmann and 1341-1346 by Munro.

fastening on them with firm bite and with hooked claws. The bulls would toss their own friends and trample them underfoot, and gore with their horns the flanks and bodies of the horses underneath and turn up the earth with threatening front. The boars too would rend their friends with powerful tusks, (1327) *in their rage dying with their blood the weapons broken in them,* (1328) *ay dying with their blood the weapons broken in their own bodies: and would put to promiscuous rout horse and foot; for the tame beasts would try to avoid by shying to the side the cruel push of the tusk, or would rear up and paw the winds, all in vain, since you might see them tumble down with their tendons severed and straw the ground in their heavy fall. Those whom they believed before to have been sufficiently broken in at home, they would see lash themselves into fury in the heat of action from wounds and shouting flight panic and uproar; and they could not rally any portion of them; for all the different kinds of wild beasts would fly all abroad;* (1339-1340) *just as now the Lucan kine when cruelly mangled by the steel fly often all abroad after inflicting many cruel sufferings.* (1341-1346) *If it really was true that they did it. But I can hardly bring myself to believe that they were not able to imagine and to perceive that this would happen before hideous ruin should come upon them all; and you might rather maintain that this happened in the universe in the different worlds made in different ways than choose out one single earth for the process.*[1] *But men chose thus to act not so much in any hope of victory as from a wish to give the enemy something to rue at the cost of their own lives, when they mistrusted their numbers and were in want of arms.*

(1350—1360) A garment tied on the body was in use before a dress of woven stuff. Woven stuff comes after iron, because iron is needed for weaving a web; and in no other way can such finely polished things be made as heddles and spindles, shuttles and ringing yarn-beams. And nature impelled men to work up the wool before woman-kind; for the male sex in general far excels the other in skill and is much more ingenious; until the rugged countrymen so upbraided them with it, that they were glad to give it over into the hands of the women and take their share in supporting hard toil, and in such hard work hardened body and hands.

The subject of the lines printed in italic type is the Use of Wild Animals in War in itself an interesting one. It was touched upon by Mr. George Jennison of Manchester in a letter headed "Animal Allies," which was published during the Great War in the *Manchester Guardian* of 17 January, 1917. The poet tells us that in addition

[1] Or more exactly *than in any single and particular earth that you please.*

to elephants men had so employed or had endeavoured to employ lions, bulls and wild boars. This he gives as fact; and fact it might be, whether actual or at least reported. But it might also be unauthorised inference, or even sheer invention, for the actual source of the statement has up to the present time remained unknown. What sort of help we get from his commentators may be seen from the observation of the last German who has written upon the passage, that the only instance known to him of wild beasts employed in warfare is the lion of Rameses the Second, referred to in Book I. of the History of Diodorus Siculus. The historian says in his description of the mural paintings :—

"On the first of the walls the King is represented besieging a fortress round which a river is flowing. The undaunted King is in front, attacking troops of the enemy, and a lion is with him. The beast takes part in the struggle in most terrific fashion. In explanation of this some of the guides alleged that the King really kept a tame lion and that it took its share with him in the fray and that its gallantry put the enemy to flight, but others preferred the interpretation that the King, who was courageous and arrogant to excess, in his wish to glorify himself chose the figure of the lion to symbolise the temper of his soul."

I have myself sought high and low for confirmations of the Lucretian statement; and I will now set out all that I have been able to find. In the year 217 B.C. the great Carthaginian General, Hannibal, had been ravaging the fertile plains of Campania. The Roman commander, Fabius Maximus, closed the passes into Samnium and thought that he had his enemy in a trap. But Hannibal drove a number of captured oxen with lighted faggots tied to their horns straight upon the troops that were guarding the pass and before the fiery onset the Romans fled in dismay. More pertinent as an illustration of Lucretius is an incident which occurred, or at least is said to have occurred, some 1700 years after the death of Lucretius. Mr. John Masefield in his thrilling account of adventures "On the Spanish Main" relates how the Spaniards in 1671 sought to use wild bulls, not this time in an arena for the diversion of sight-seers but on the field of battle in defence of the city of Panamà against the English freebooters under Morgan. He says (p. 198) that the Spanish forces included "sixty Indians and some negroes. These last were

to drive two thousand wild bulls and cause them to run over the English camp, and thus by breaking their files put them into a total disorder and confusion," and on p. 200—"During the engagement of the foot, the Indians and negroes tried their stratagem of the bulls. They drove the herds round the flanking parties to the rear and endeavoured to force them through the English lines. 'But the greatest part of that wild cattle ran away, being frighted with the noise of the Battle. And some few, that broke through the English Companies, did no other harm than to tear the Colours to pieces; whereas the Buccaneers shooting them dead left none to Trouble them thereabouts'."

I come next to Lions. Passing over the lion of Rameses II., in the 8th chapter of Plutarch's life of the regicide Brutus, we read that one reason why Cassius hated Julius Cæsar was that he held him responsible for the loss of the lions which he had procured for the games that he intended to exhibit as Ædile, but which perished in the capture of Megara in 48 B.C. by Cæsar's lieutenant Calenus. "These beasts," continues the biographer, "it is said" (note the "it is said") "were the cause of great calamity to the Megarians. For when their city was all but taken, they unbarred their cages and unfastened their chains in order that the beasts might check the rush of their assailants. But the creatures sprang upon *them* and made such havoc among them as they were running hither and thither without armour to protect them that even the enemy were moved to compassion." There is a noticeable similarity of expression in this account and the descriptions of Lucretius; and it may be pointed out that the occurrence, if a real one (and our other authorities knew nothing of it), would take place some six years after the death of Lucretius while Plutarch recounts it in a biography written long after our poem had become a classic of the world. This seems significant.

To come to modern times. It is said (observe I imitate here the reserve of Plutarch)—it is said that during the siege of Paris in 1870 it was proposed to let the inmates of the Jardin d'Acclimatation loose upon the Germans. The experiment was not tried. Perhaps it was thought better strategy to eat them.

About Wild Boars I have nothing to say. But those who know more of their ways than I assure me that as "Animal allies" they are impossible.

To sum up, there is nothing to show that what Lucretius says here is based upon facts, whether real or related. That it is pure invention is not likely in so earnest a seeker after truth; but it may well be the offspring of imagination and uncertified inference.

From the subject itself I pass next to its presentation. What strikes us first about this is its length (43 lines). This we cannot help feeling is excessive, whether we regard the intrinsic importance of the matter or compare the space allotted to topics which are treated of in its immediate neighbourhood. It is true that a lack of symmetry is observable in other parts of the poem. In book VI., for example, 150 lines are spent on a description of the great pestilence at Athens in the time of Pericles; but if this is extravagant, the blame must be passed on to Thucydides from whose history the account is taken. Again 250 lines at the end of book IV. are devoted to the physiological and psychological aspects of sex. Whether they thus receive an improper amount of attention I may leave it to the present age to determine. But of their reality and importance there can be no manner of question, whereas the passage before us is at best a description of avowedly wild and futile experiments.

Looking closer into it we perceive that it is an excrescence. The subject of the section to which it is attached is the history of the discovery of the metals and the development of the disastrous art of war. This is traced through its stages and their culmination in the employment of the great earth-shaking beasts whom Lucretius, following the earlier Roman writers, calls "Lucanian kine." The account is plainly brought to a natural close in lines 1305-1307. The failures depicted in the succeeding lines play no part in the evolution of warfare: they have no place here, they have no place elsewhere. They are, it would seem, for all their literary beauty, a fungous growth. But it is not merely its subject matter that stamps it as an excrescence. In tone and character—in its very atmosphere, so to say, it is in startling contrast to its surroundings; as if it were the product of an alien mind. On both sides of it we have expositions of stages in the march of what it is customary to call civilisation. These are orderly, equable and judicial—almost matter of fact in their treatment, with no trace of exaggeration or more than ordinary poetic embellishment. Such are the lines, 1297-1307, which immediately precede, and such the lines, 1350-1360, which immediately follow the passage in

question. But how unlike what intervenes? Since verse inevitably loses much when it is turned into prose, I will add to the prose version of Munro the major part of the passage from the translation of Professor W. E. Leonard, the most adequate of recent verse renderings of Lucretius.

> Bulls, too, they tried
> In war's grim business; and essayed to send
> Outrageous boars against the foes. And some
> Sent on before their ranks puissant lions
> With armèd trainers and with masters fierce
> To guide and hold in chains—and yet in vain,
> Since fleshed with pell-mell slaughter, fierce they flew,
> And blindly through the squadrons havoc wrought,
> Shaking the frightful crests upon their heads,
> Now here, now there. Nor could the horsemen calm
> Their horses, panic-breasted at the roar,
> And rein them round to front the foe. With spring
> The infuriate she-lions would up-leap
> Now here, now there; and whoso came apace
> Against them, these they'd rend across the face;
> And others unwitting from behind they'd tear
> Down from their mounts, and twining round them, bring
> Tumbling to earth, o'er mastered by the wound,
> And with those powerful fangs and hookèd claws
> Fasten upon them. Bulls would toss their friends,
> And trample underfoot, and from beneath
> Rip flanks and bellies of horses with their horns,
> And with a threat'ning forehead jam the sod,
> And boars would gore with stout tusks their allies,
> Splashing in fury their own blood on spears
> Splintered in their own bodies, and would fell
> In rout and ruin infantry and horse.
> For there the beasts-of-saddle tried to scape
> The savage thrusts of tusk by shying off,
> Or rearing up with hoofs a-paw in air.
> In vain since there thou mightest see them sink,
> Their sinews severed, and with heavy fall
> Bestrew the ground. And such of these as men
> Supposed well-trainèd long ago at home,
> Were in the thick of action seen to foam
> In fury from the wounds, the shrieks, the flight,
> The panic and the tumult; nor could men
> Aught of their numbers rally.

We rub our eyes, and ask what this lurid and tempestuous presentation is doing in a treatise on Natural Philosophy. We cannot

resort to that common refuge of dumbfounded critics and pronounce the verses to be spurious. The question of authorship does not arise. All agree that in spirit and style they are the genuine work of Lucretius, but not, let us add, of the Lucretius who writes before and after them.—Our task is not yet concluded. But I do not propose to dwell on minor peculiarities of expression in the piece, for which indeed it would be necessary to examine the Latin original in detail. I confine myself to its general aspects and salient features, avoiding above everything whatever may be made matter of dispute.

From what has been said already it is plain that two ways of employing wild beasts in warfare are conceivable. *Either* they might be *trained* for this purpose as the "Lucanian Oxen" of Lucretius were regularly so trained,[1] *or* they might be kept wild in captivity, and *released for use in an emergency*. Of both these possibilities is Lucretius aware. Let us see how he deals with them. First he says that efforts were made to break in and train bulls, lions, and wild boars for this purpose, 1308, 1334, and he gives a graphic description of the disasters which thence ensued. Recoiling from the horrors that he has imagined he next, in 1341-1346, declares his account to be incredible. This glaring inconsistency has not escaped the notice of my predecessors. And Munro, following the lead of Lachmann, a great but arbitrary scholar, who rejected lines 1344-1346, has declared all six to be spurious. He has had no recent followers, for Mr. C. Bailey, the Oxford translator of Lucretius, has recanted. Now it is to be observed that though we may expunge the verses we cannot expunge the inconsistency. In the next three lines, which declare that the practice was not adopted in hope of victory, that is as a part of the art of war, but in a desperate emergency, the contradiction still remains, stark and staring.

All this is surely strange; but there is something stranger yet. But in order to make it clear I must pass for a moment from our author to the school of Epicurus, whose philosophical doctrines he had embraced.

In the time of Epicurus the edifice of natural philosophy among the Greeks was ceasing to rise, not so much from deficiency of workers

[1] The evidence for this may be seen in the article on Elephants in the great French *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, by Daremberg and Saglio.

as from lack of materials and tools, a want which it was reserved to modern science to supply. Men had realised at last the vastness and complexity of nature and the impotence of human intellectual effort to fathom its depths and disentangle its intricacies. The general drift of philosophical speculation was away from Nature to Man; and the prime aim of Epicureanism was the rectification of life and conduct. With this in view it was clearly impossible for Epicureanism to accept the agnostic principle of a rival school[1] and to declare that all certainty was unattainable. In order then to parry a natural curiosity which it could neither satisfy nor still, it took refuge in the provision of alternatives. "Grant," it said, "that we do not know the course of such and such a phenomenon. Still we may enumerate all of its possible causes, and of these possible causes the actual cause must be one." This doctrine Lucretius states and applies in an earlier part of the present book, V., 526 sqq. He has offered several alternative explanations of the movement of the stars, and he proceeds :—

Nam quid in hoc mundo sit eorum ponere certum
difficile est; sed quid possit fiatque per omne
in uariis mundis uaria ratione creatis
id doceo plurisque sequor disponere causas
motibus astrorum quae possint esse per omne;
e quibus una tamen sit in hoc quoque causa necessest
quae uegeat motum signis; sed quae sit earum
praecipere haudquaquamst pedetemtim progredientis.

or in Munro's translation (the italics being mine) :—

"Which of these causes is in operation in this world, it is not easy to affirm for certain; but what can be and is done throughout the universe in various worlds formed on various plans, this I teach, and I go on to set forth several causes which may exist throughout the universe for the motion of stars; *one* of which however must in this world also be the cause that imparts lively motion to the signs; but to dictate *which* of these it is by no means the duty of the man who advances step by step."

To the modern scientist this must seem puerile. For it takes no account of the uniformity of Nature. On the other hand it amply recognises her multiformity; and its assumption, derived as we know

[1] The later Academy.

directly from Epicurus, of an infinity of worlds composing the universe, is confirmed by the most recent and most amazing discoveries of our modern astronomy.[1]

Aberrations of the intellect produce strange results when their victim attempts to reason upon accustomed lines. J. F. Nisbet, in his work on the *Insanity of Genius*, p. 101, aptly quotes some remarks of Charles Lamb on his gifted sister's insanity :—

"There was sometimes even a vein of crazy logic running through them [the fragments of her discourse], associating things essentially most dissimilar but connecting them by a verbal association in strange order."

Of this crazy logic I can give two illustrations. The first I had from a teacher of my own, a clergyman of the Church of England. A philanthropic gentleman, interested in the treatment of the insane and bent in particular upon the discovery of cases of improper detention, once visited an institution where he conversed on a great variety of subjects with an inmate whose every word and gesture seemed unimpeachably to vouch for his sanity. The visitor was leaving, prepared to act upon this conviction, when the patient said) "Sir, we have had a good long talk together; and I hope you will agree with me that I am not a man to make a complaint without reason." The visitor of course assented. "Well then," said he, producing a small wad of tobacco from his pocket and holding it out in his palm, "I ask you, Sir, if this is a proper allowance of tobacco for *the Creator of the Universe?*"

A second anecdote exemplifies a somewhat different form of perverted reasoning. A doctor was inspecting a mental hospital which he had visited before. He recognised an old acquaintance. "Well, my friend," he said, "and who are you now?" "Julius Cæsar," was the reply. "But," said the doctor, "when I was last here, you were Henry VIII." "Yes," said the patient, "but that was by a different mother."

We turn again to Lucretius, and consider the three lines which Lachmann and Munro declared to be spurious though there are none, I will venture to say, in the whole of the poem, the diction of which is

[1] My friend Sir F. Dyson, the Astronomer Royal, tells me that astronomers have estimated the number of suns, such as the sun of our planetary system, at from 5000 to 10,000 millions.

more evidently Lucretian. Both here and elsewhere for an obvious reason I have hitherto religiously abstained from introducing into the rendering of the Latin any alterations of my own. But in the last line Dr. Rouse's translation is unduly paraphrastic, and I have therefore replaced it by a substitute which is closer to the original. So the lines will now appear as "you might rather maintain that this happened in the Universe in the different worlds made in different ways than in any single and particular earth that you please."

In these lines the Epicurean dogma which I have explained is clearly present to the mind of Lucretius; but it is wrested from its proper application to the determination and assignment of *causes* and applied to the ascertainment of *facts*. Now had one been investigating the reasons *why* the employment of wild animals in warfare ended in disaster, it might conceivably have been argued that there would be various causes for this, according to the conditions of the world in which the animals were found, and that we had no right to lay down that the actual cause in the particular world, the earth we live in, was one of these more than another. But what Lucretius says is this: "I cannot believe that on our Earth men ever trained wild animals so calamitously; you might rather maintain that this happened in one of the multitude of the different worlds designed on different plans throughout the universe than that it happened in one particular earth." Yes, you might "rather maintain" this in bitter irony if you were an unbending opponent of Epicurus and all his doctrine, but hardly in honest and serious argument if you were his devoted follower, one to whom that philosopher was as a god, "a genius above all human kind, who put out the light of his fellows as the sun in heaven at its rising extinguishes the stars" III., 1043. To make such havoc of his doctrine your mental state must be one of grave disorder. Viewed in this light the phrasing of the last verse of the three acquires a very touching significance. The mind, dimly but uneasily conscious that it is losing its grip on reality, clutches, as it were, at an exact but now meaningless formula, the last strand, it would seem, in the breaking cable of sanity. It will not be amiss here to recall the lines of Tennyson, who in his poem on the Suicide of Lucretius has adopted the story of Jerome in all essential particulars. There the poet is made to say:—

My master held
That Gods there are, for all men so believe.
I prest my footsteps into his, and meant
Surely to lead my Memmius in a train
Of flowery clauses onward to the proof
That Gods there are, and deathless. Meant? I meant?
I have forgotten what I meant. My mind
Stumbles, and all my faculties are lame.

The passage I have said is an excrescence; and it is a natural question: from what did it grow? Lucretius furnishes the clue. It was from the elephants and their behaviour in historic battles that his thought wandered into this wilderness of fantasy. He had said above:

"Diffugiebat enim uarium genus omne ferarum, | ut nunc saepe boues Lucae ferro male mactae | diffugiunt, fera facta suis cum multa dedere."

Lucretius was well read in the annals of his country and such incidents are well attested. In the year 274 B.C. Pyrrhus, the brilliant general and monarch of Epirus was engaged by the Romans in the neighbourhood of Beneuentum. What decided the battle was the rout of the king's elephants, which were so harassed by showers of missiles from the Roman camp that they turned round on their own friends and trod down all before them (Plutarch, Life of Pyrrhus, c. 25). Again some 24 years later, in the first war between the Romans and the Carthaginians (to whom Lucretius in v. 1303 ascribes this discovery in the art of warfare) the same thing happened outside the walls of Palermo in Sicily. Polybius (I., c. 40) relates how the huge corps of 140 elephants in the army of Hasdrubal drove the Roman outposts in upon their lines, but were there received with such a galling fire that they fled in a frenzy of panic "trampling down and killing the Carthaginian troops and throwing all their ranks into disorder."

In its vivid and arresting details the scene imagined by the poet is true to reality. This need not surprise us. If in the time of Lucretius an inhabitant of Rome did not know the ways of infuriated wild beasts, it was not from lack of opportunity. Hunts (*uenationes*) of these in the arena had been for more than a hundred years a regular feature of the Games of the Circus. In 99 B.C. elephants fought against bulls. In the praetorship of Sulla lions were let loose in the circus; and in the exhibition given by Pompey in 55 B.C. no less than

600 lions were killed.[1] That it was from the memory, perhaps the recent memory, of such spectacles as these that the heated fancy of Lucretius drew at least part of his descriptions would be no improbable conjecture. The curious touch of lions with awe-inspiring crests on their heads may itself have been taken therefrom. For, as M. G. Lafaye in the article just cited points out, the fighting animals were often specially decorated for the *uenatio*, as the lion mentioned by Seneca, *Epistles*, 41, 6, whose mane was embellished with gold ornaments.

To sum up, the account in the fifth book of Lucretius on "the employment of wild beasts in warfare" is an excrescence on the poem. It is devoid of proper connexion with its context which is complete without it, and it is out of harmony therewith. It has no certain basis in fact, nor on any known statement of any previous writer; and of its improbability the author himself is conscious. Its composition, style, and diction are plainly Lucretian, but no less plainly not those of the normal Lucretius.[2] It contains a flagrant contradiction on a fundamental matter, and a soi-disant argument which is destitute of meaning. If before the cumulative force of these considerations we are constrained to conclude that the account is a product of aberration, two corollaries will follow. The veracity of St. Jerome's narrative will be substantially confirmed; and new light will be shed on the constitution and interpretation of more than one disputed passage in Lucretius. Upon the latter subject I hope to say something upon a future occasion.

[1] For more particulars see the copiously illustrated article, "La venatio dans les jeux de l'Amphithéatre," in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, V., pp. 700 sqq.

[2] Literary excellence of a high order is consistent with insanity. Nisbet, op. cit., p. 71, says: "The journals composed and printed by the inmates of lunatic asylums in different European countries abound in poems, articles and scientific speculations of a high order of merit." A noteworthy example is "A Song to David," by Christopher Smart, the only one of his poems that will live, which was written within the walls of an asylum. Of Mary Lamb her brother writes: "Her ramblings often sparkled with brilliant descriptions and shattered beauty. . . . She would fancy herself in the days of Queen Anne or George I., and describe the brocaded dames and courtly manners as though she had been bred among them, in the best style of the Old Comedy." Quoted by Nisbet, l.c. above, p. 101.

LISTS OF DIPLOMATIC VISITORS TO ENGLAND PRESERVED IN THE MAINWARING MANUSCRIPTS.

By C. S. S. HIGHAM, M.A.

READER IN MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

SOME interesting sidelights on the important diplomatic negotiations which took place in England in 1670 are to be found among the miscellaneous papers of Colonel Roger Whitley, which form a valuable part of the Mainwaring MSS., now deposited in the John Rylands Library. For several years Whitley was Knight Harbinger to Charles II., and some of his papers deal with his official duties. The most amusing is perhaps a small pocket-book, which contains among very miscellaneous memoranda a series of scribbled lists of the various persons for whom billets had to be found when the Court moved from time to time, with jotted notes as to the accommodation required. The first document printed below is a list taken from this notebook, and refers to the famous meeting at Dover in May-June, 1670, when Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, paid a visit to her brother King Charles II., and succeeded in negotiating the Secret Treaty. In Whitley's notes we see the requirements of the various members of the royal suite, though the name of the King does not occur, as it does in similar lists when the Court moved to Newmarket, for at Dover the King resided in the Castle. The next two documents deal with the same event, but refer to the French visitors. The first, which is in a French hand, gives a complete list of Madame's numerous and elaborate household, several of the more important of whom had been specially chosen for the service by Louis XIV. to add dignity to the occasion. The paper was evidently handed to the English billetting officers, for it contains rough marginal notes in a different hand, allotting the people to their various lodgings. The other document shows the way in which Madame's large

number of attendants were duly housed in "this dreary place" of Dover, as Colbert de Croissy called it; the total cost to the Crown for lodgings was £92 7s., but the many attempts to add up this sum correctly which occur on the paper have been omitted in the printing. No charge is shown against Madame's name, for she too was lodged in the Castle. The Maréchal de Plessy, however, brought over so numerous a crowd of personal attendants that he required a whole house for his accommodation. The size of Madame's train can best be pictured from the description of their embarkation at Dunkirk, given by Lord Sandwich who was in charge of the fleet which brought them to England. "After sunsett, Madam arrived in Duynkirke and her Traine. I persuaded her to lett her Traine embarque all night after three o'clocke (when the tyde served) and her selfe in person to be on board the Yaght, in the Splinter roade, at 7 the next morninge, which was accordingly performed. Madam with some sixty of her traine came aboard the *Ann Yaght* where I and my lord of St. Albans went also; Monsieur de Plessis le Marishall and his people had the *Merlin Yaght* and the *Avise* in the road had neere 100 persons in her passengers, and the *Guernsey* eighty."[1] The pageant visit to Dover was soon over, but it left behind two evils which were to affect English politics for many years, the Secret Treaty itself and the subtle influence of the beautiful Louise de Kéroualle, whose name can be seen among Madame's maids of honour (Document II.).

The other papers refer to the diplomatic activities of the autumn of 1670. The Prince of Orange was scarcely 20 years of age, and had not yet recovered the office of stadtholder, when he paid his first visit to his uncle in England. "He has a manly, courageous, wise countenance, resembling his Mother and the Duke of Gloucester," notes Evelyn, and his visit was a grest personal success, although his inquisitiveness about State affairs was a cause of great annoyance to Arlington, the Secretary of State, who was engaged in playing a double game between the Dutch and French alliances. The Prince was accompanied by Zuylestein, his governor, and a numerous suite, whose names are given in the fourth document printed below. This paper consists of two lists, the one of a number of gentlemen of quality,

[1] Sandwich MSS. Journals, X., 274 (quoted F. R. Harris, *Life of Edward Montagu*, I., pp. 206-207).

who came as an escort of honour to the young prince, and the other a list of his household. The last document is an amusing one; it is Colonel Whitley's list of the billets assigned to these persons, and it creates in one's mind a vivid picture. Down the narrow streets and in the little alleys around Whitehall we see the Prince's servants going to and fro, the perewigmaker busy with the latest style in hair dressing for his master, the tailor and his man fortunately lodged near together, the pages, the master-huntsman and the Trumpets. It is surely a pleasing coincidence that the footmen should be lodged at *The Prince of Orange's Head* in Westminster, an inn sign that was soon to become extremely popular in England.

In printing these papers contractions have usually been expanded except in the case of Document I., which has been reproduced *litteratim*.

DOCUMENT No. I.

(MAINWARING MSS., MS. BOOK No. 32, pp. 14-15.)[1]

Dover/

Ld. St. Albans—Lodg: Dyet: Sta: &c:
Ld. Carlisle—Lod: Stab: &c:
Ld. Gerard
Lady Gerard } —Lodg: Stab: Dyet: &c:
Lady Castlemaine, Lod: Dyet: Sta:
Lady Marshall, Lodg: Stab:

Col: Tho: Howard—yeom: Guard—a mile or 2 out of towne—&c:
Sir Rich: Temple—3 horses—
Ld. Sandwitch, Lod: Stab. for 6 Coach: place for dyet &c:
Ld Allington—at Mr. Bradin's if possible
Sir Jo: Duncombe—well—6 horses.
Mr Bronkard—6 horses—well—
D: Richmond—good—12 horses.
Mr. Ber: Howard—6 hor:
Dr. Clark, at Mr Bullock chyrur:—neare the Peere—if may be—qy—
Ld. Worcester. good—12 horses.
Ld. St. Johns—good—at Mrs. Ranorths if she can: 2 H:
Mr. Secretary Trevor—10 H: srts: good—
Ld. Southeske
Lady Southeske } 10 Hor: &c:

[1] This list is of course by no means exhaustive: we know of several other people who were at Dover, e.g., Lord Arundel, and Sir T. Clifford.

Ld. Bellasis—7 horses—
Ld. D. Albemarle—15 H: 12 ser.

For the K's 4 Italian musick—2: B:

Mr. Hamilton, his lady—4 Beds—8 H:
Ld. Monmouth—his Table &c:
Ld. Arlington Table &c:,
{Lady Castlemaine} Table: servts:
{Lady Marshall } Horses: &c:
The Sub-Almoner
Ld. Moulgrave (with D: mon:) 8 H:

Rochester—Inns—

The Crowne—
Ks-Head
Bull

DOCUMENT No. II.

(MAINWARING MSS. PAPERS, No. 24.)

A Douvres le 13/23 May 1670.

Logement De La Maison De Madame La Duchesse D'Orleans Soeur Du Roi.

Tho. Cocks 3 Madame La Comtesse Du Plessy Dame d'honneur avec 6 Personnes

Hoskins 1111 Filles d'honneur, &c
- Mdelle. Du Bellay — Souz Gouvernante et cinq femmes de chambre, quatre officiers, un valet de pied et cinq laquais.
- Mdelle Dampiere [1]
- Madame Du Ludre [2]
- Mdelle De Kerouen [3]

Deneuve (?) Premieres Femmes de chambre
- Madame Kartor [4] — deux filles de chambre et un laquais.
- Madame desquoin — une fille de chambre et un laquais.

[1] Hélène Fourre dé Dampierre, later married Alphonse, comte de Moreuil (*St. Simon*, I. 98 *note*, III. 32 *note*). I am indebted to my friend M. Fawtier for help in identifying some of these names.

[2] Marie-Élisabeth or Isabelle de Ludres, a famous beauty, and for a short while a rival of Mme. de Montespan (*St. Simon*, XXVIII. 187 *note*).

[3] Louise Renée de Keroualle, later Duchess of Portsmouth.

[4] See *Cal. State Papers, Domestic* (1670), p. 236, where is recorded a grant of £200, and a pension for life of £100 a year, to Mary Carter, nurse to the Duchess of Orleans [25 May, 1670, Dover]. Mrs. Carter is the only Englishwoman in Madame's suite, and may well have been concerned in the dramatic escape of the child princess from England in 1646.

Koddin 7.	Femmes de chambre	Madame desbordes	une fille de chambre et un laquais.
		Made. de Buscar	une fille de chambre et un laquais.
		Mdelle. hamar	une fille de chambre et un laquais.
		Made. guillory	une fille de chambre et un laquais.
		Madelle. Desquoin	une fille de chambre et un laquais.
Mr. Cook 62	Chevalier d'honneur		Monsr. Le Comte Dalbon[1] et Madame sa femme, avec deux gentilzhommes trois femmes, deux pages et quatre laquais.
William Peper 1111	Premier Mre d'hostel		Mr. De Purnon[2] avec un valet de chambre et trois laquais.
James Partrige 1111	Secretaire des Commandemantes.		Mr. Du Four, avec un valet de chambre et trois laquais.
	Tresorier general		Mr. Davoust,[3] avec un valet de chambre et trois laquais.
John Hall 111	Premier Medecin		Mr. Yvelin,[4] avec un valet de chambre et un laquais.
Widow Burdin 111	Premier Chirurgien		Mr. Carel et un laquais.
	Apoticaire du Corps		un ayde et son laquais. Mr. Soüart.
	Huissier de chambre		un valet.

[1] Gilbert-Antoine, comte d'Albon, d. 1680. Became chevalier d'honneur to the second Madame (*Sévigné*, III. 351 *note*).

[2] Claude Bonneau de Purnon, already maitre d'hôtel to Madame in 1666; suspected of complicity in her alledged murder (*St. Simon*, VIII. 376-8).

[3] See *Dangeau*, XIII. 110 (1 March, 1710). "Un trésorier de Madame, nommé Davou, qu'elle avoir cassé il y a quelques mois et qui lui avoit volé plus de 100,000 écus, voyant entrer des archers dans sa chambre qui venoient l'arrêter, s'est jeté par la fenêtre et s'est tué."

[4] See Evelyn, *Diary*, 26 May, 1670. "Receiving a letter from Mr. Philip Howard, Lord Almoner to the Queen, that Monsieur Evelin, first physician to Madame (who was now come to Dover to visit the King her brother), was come to town, greatly desirous to see me: but his stay so short, that he could not come to me, I went with my brother to meet him at the Tower, where he was seeing the Magazines and other curiosities, having never before been in England: we renewed our alliance and friendship, with much regret on both sides that, he being to return towards Dover that evening, we could not enjoy one another any longer. How this French family, Ivelin, of Evelin, Normandy, a very ancient and noble house, is grafted into our pedigree, see in the collection brought from Paris, 1650."

Valets de chambre {sont deux, avec un valet.
Garçons de chambre {sont deux.

James Milton 111. Valet de garderobe {Mr. Le Conte, avec un valet.

Blanchisseuse du corps {Madame le Duc, avec une fille et un valet.

(*p. 2 of MS.*) Tappisier {un.
Menuissier {un.

John Kyte 2. Porte Chaise D'Affaires {un.
Porteurs de la chambre {sont deux.
Confisseur et son compagnon Capuchins.

Chapelain et cler de chapelle. {Mr. Mareschal.[1] avec un valet. Mr. Elie.

Mr. D'Hostel ordinaire. {Mr. de Meurcé, avec deux valets.

Tho. Hamerdin 1111 Mr. D'hostel en quartier {Mr. de Suresne, avec un valet.

gentilzhommes servants {Messrs. Lyrot Pere et Fils, avec deux valets.

Escuyer ordinaire {Monsr. Deschappelles, avec un valet de chambre at deux laquais.

Escuyer en quartier {Mr. Priolam avec un valet.

Capn. Lieutenant de gardes {Mr. de Rocheplate, avec un valet de chambre et deux laquais.

Enseigne des gardes {Mr. de Verneüil, avec un valet de chambre et un laquais

Exempt des gardes {Mr. desbordes,[2] avec un valet de chambre et un laquais.

Richard Bax. 3. Porte manteau ordinaire {Mr. Desquoin avec deux valets.

the bull Jane Bradshaw 111111

Jo. Barret 11111 Pages {sont six. {gouverneur avec trois valets.

widow cristy 111

Richard goodyn 6. Valets de pied {sont six.

Guardes du corps {sont vingt six et 6 valets.

Trompette de la chambre {avec un valet.

Chirurgien du commun {Mr. Poly avec un valet.

un officier de fouriere. {

un mareschal des logis {Mr. Regnier avec un valet.

[1] Perhaps the son of the King's first surgeon, who appears under the title of l'Abbé Maréchal in *Dangeau* (XIII. 217).

[2] Perhaps the later Lieut.-General des Bordes often mentioned in *Dangeau*.

(*p. 3 of MS.*)

Monsieur la Mareschal du Plessy [1]	avec deux gentilzhommes, un escuyer, un Mr. d'hostel, deux valets de chambre, deux pages et quatre laquais.
Mr. L'Evesque de Tournay [2]	avec trois eclesiastiques, un Mr. d'hostel, un page et quatre laquais.
M. L'Abbé de Cornully	avec un valet de chambre et deux laquais.
Mr. L'Abbé de Chaumont	avec deux laquais.
Mr. De Tonecharante [3]	avec un valet de chambre et deux laquais.
Mr. Le Chevalier de Flamarin [4]	avec un valet de chambre et deux laquais.
Mr. Le Chevalier d'amont [5]	avec un valet.
Mr. De Beaufort	avec deux valets.
Mr. L'advocat [6]	avec un valet de chambre et deux laquais.

[1] César de Choiseul, maréchal du Plessis-Praslin, born 1598, died 1675 (*St. Simon*, III. 12 *note*).

[2] Gilbert de Choiseul du Plessis-Praslin, 3rd brother of the maréchal du Plessis. Bishop of Comminges, he was nominated bishop of Tournay by Louis XIV. in 1670, "a sede apostolica confirmatus, fidem regi obligavit 15 Martii an. 1671" (*Gallia Christiana*, ed. 1725, III. 246).

[3] Probably Jean-Claude, comte de Tonnay-Charante et de l'Isle-Dieu. His foolish chatter about the attentions which Monmouth had paid to Madame during the Dover visit enraged Monsieur and made Louis say in disgust that he thought the young man must have been born in Madagascar (J. Cartwright, *Madame*, p. 339).

[4] Probably François-Agésilau de Grossoles, comte de Flamarens, who became in 1682 premier maitre d'hôtel to Monsieur (*St. Simon*, XVI. 60 *note*). His elder brother François de Grossoles, had been forced to flee from France in 1662 as the result of a duel, and was living in England in close touch with Charles II. (*Ib.* IX. 95 *note*).

[5] Probably Louis-Marie-Victor d'Aumont, duc d'Aumont, who succeeded to the title in 1669, and was governor of Boulogne (*St. Simon*, II. 140 *note*).

[6] Probably Jean-Antoine Ladvocat, brother of Mme. de Pomponne, counsellor and Master of Requests (*St. Simon*, VI. 581, VIII. 38-9 *note*).

Mr. destardins Mr. d'hostel	{avec un valet de chambre et un laquais.
Mr. Bourlamachy escuyer	{avec un valet.
Mr. de Charmont[1]	{avec deux valets.
Mr. Le Marquis d'obterre[2]	{avec deux valets.
Mr. Le comte damilton[3]	{et Mde. sa femme, avec deux femmes et six valets.
Mr. Le comte de grammont[4]	{et Made. sa femme, avec deux femmes et cinq valets.

(*In Col. Whitley's hand.*)

Marshall Du Plessis had neare 30 servants more, than are mentioned in this list: also other persons, had many more, than the list &c.

Monsieur de Rouvigny & servants[5]
Ld. Douglas[6]
Ld. Coningsmark[7]
Marqsse de Flamerin
& several other persons of quality (not in the list) lodged on Madame's accompt as being of her suite.

(*endorsed in Whitley's hand*)

A list of Madame's Traine.

[1] Probably Hennequin, seigneur de Charmont, who became procureur-général (*St. Simon*, VIII. 20 *note*).

[2] François Bouchard d'Esparbès de Lussan, marquis d'Aubeterre (*St. Simon*, XIV. 352 *note*).

[3] Almost certainly the famous Anthony Hamilton, see J. Cartwright, *Madame*, p. 325: "The Comtesse de Grammont will accompany me to Dover, as well as her brother M. d'Hamilton. Everyone in France wants to follow me, but the King, my brother, will not allow this, and Monsieur is delighted to hear only a few persons are to accompany me, fearing too much honour should be paid me" (Madame to Mme. de Saint Chaumont, 14 April, 1670).

[4] The hero of the *Memoirs* written by his brother-in-law, Count Anthony Hamilton.

[5] Either Henri de Massué, Marquis de Ruvigny (1610-1689), the famous Hugenot, or his son of the same name, who was later made Earl of Galway by William III.

[6] Probably Lord George Douglas of Dumbarton, the commander of a regiment in France (*Despatches of William Perwick*, Camden Society, p. 90).

[7] The famous Swedish nobleman, who commanded troops in the French service, and for a time acted as Swedish Ambassador to France.

DOCUMENT No. III.

(MAINWARING MSS. PAPERS, No. 339.)

	Mr. Denen	Madam etc.	Beds.
1. 14. —	William Pepper	Gentleman & 4 servants	3
1. 19. 0	John Barret	Pages	3
0. 13. 0	Widdow Webb	Pages	1
0. 15. 0	Widdow Crystye	Pages	2
5. 15. 0	Samuell Taverner	Mr. Gramount &c.	3
0. 17. 0	Simon Burden	Surgeon	1
1. 5. 6	Richard Becks	Gentleman, 2 servants	2
6. 0. 0	Mr. Cooke	Count D'Albon &c.	3
2. 10. 0	Mr. Raworth	Treasurer of the Court &c.	2
1. 7. 6	James Milton	Gentleman & servant	2
7. 0. 0	John Hoskins	Maides of Honour.	5
2. 13. 0	Robert Wraught		5
1. 19. 0	Thomas Hartford	2 Gentlemen, 3 servants	4
2. 19. 6	John Sladden	Ladyes of the Bed Chamber	5
1. 05. 6	John Padnoll		2
1. 16. 0	Thomas Hamerden	2 Gentlemen, 3 servants	3
0. 19. 6	James Partridge	The Secretary, 4 servants	3
41. 08. 6			
1. 5. 6	William Blinstone	Gentleman, 2 servants	2
0. 17. 0	Katherine Williams	2 Gentlemen	1
0. 17. 0	Mr. Anthony Johnson	2 servants	1
0. 2. 0	John Dove	5 Pages 1 night	2 qi.
0. 8. 0	Anthony Streete	3 Pages	1
0. 8. 6	Abraham De Castile	2 servants	1
2. 2. 6	Widdow Hogben	4 Gentlemen 2 servants	3
1. 12. 0	James Flemming	3 Gentlemen 3 servants	5 qi.
7. 0. 0	James Towers	xi Gentlemen of Guarde	9 qi.
14. 12. 6			
x	Mr. Peircevoll	Lord Doglas	2
	Mr. Moone	Count Conisgmarke	3

(*on p. 2 of MS.*)

				Beds.
0.	10.	6	Mrs. Bradshaw-Bull	Pages 3 nights	4
1.	5.	6	Mr. Randee	Gentleman, servant	2
1.	1.	0	Edward Francklin	Gentleman, servant	2
1.	4.	0	Edward Arnold senior.	3 Gentlemen 1 servant	2
1.	13.	6	Widdow Colley	2 Gentlemen 2 servants	3
0.	17.	0	John Holland	4 servants	2
0.	16.	0	Mr. Smith	1 gentleman	1
0.	8.	6	Thomas Middleton	2 servants	1
1.	5.	6	Thomas Elgar	gentleman, 1 servant	2
1.	5.	6	Mr. Gibbins	gentleman, 1 servant	2
1.	12.	6	Robert Moone	2 gentlemen, 3 servants	4q.
0.	18.	0	Mr. Peircevall	Gentleman, 2 servants	2q.
0.	16.	0	Thomas Cox	4 servants	2q.
0.	17.	0	Widdow Manwaring	Madams Landresse	1
0.	8.	6	Katherine Billard.	Porters	1
0.	8.	6	John Keet	Porters of the Chaire	1
1.	5.	6	Richard Goodwyn	6 ffootemen	3
7.	0.	0	Mr. Edwards—whole house & kicthin for Marshall D'Plessis		4
6.	0.	0	M. Stookes	Bishop of Tournay	6 q
1.	14.	0	John Hall	Physician, 2 servants	2
31.	07.	0			
0.	8.	6	Elizabeth Newbury	2 mayds servants	1
0.	7.	6	Hanna Blackley	1 servant	1
0.	8.	6	Mrs. Whetstone	2 pages backstairs	1
2.	0.	6	Christopher Taylor	2 Monsr. Flamery's servants 3 servants	3
0.	17.	0	Mr. Eylon	Monsr. Chapelle	1
0.	17.	0	Samuell Partridge	Gentleman	1
0.	14.	0	Mrs. Willis 7 nights Ld. Douglas, Gentleman & Laquay		3
5.	13.	0			

(*endorsed on back*) Paid for the lodging of Madame's traine at Dover.

DOCUMENT No. IV.

(MAINWARING MSS. PAPERS, No. 25.) (Endorsed on back :—Pr. of Aurange's List.)

L'Iste des personnes de qualite qui passent en Angleterre avec son Altesse Monsr. Le Prince d'Orange.

	Serviteurs
Mons: de Salestein[1]	5
Mons: de Brederode	4
Mons: d'Opdam[2]	6
Mons: d'Escravemore	4
Mons: de L'Arsoone[3]	0
Mons: de Ostruick	2
Mons: de Olderson	2
Mons: de Stalstenburg	2
Mons: de Alulden	2
Mons: de Count d'Hona[4]	3
Mons: de Hemmema	2
Mons: de la Salle	2
Mons: de Heomert[5]	2
(*added*)	
Mons: le Counte D'Estruse	

Maistres 13. En tout 49.

L'Iste de ceux Appartienent [*sic*] a la Maison de Son Altess et qui passent en Angliterre.

	Serviteurs
Monsr: d'Auverkirke[6]	5
Monsr: d'Albourneswaite[7]	4
Monsr: de Juliam conseleir	2
Monsr: Bentinke gentilhome servant[8]	2

[1] Frederick Nassau de Zuylestein, governor to the Prince of Orange. It should be noted that these lists do not necessarily include all the Prince's train: thus Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses* contain names of several Dutchmen who were awarded degrees at the "Orange creation" on 20 October, 1670, but who do not appear in these lists.

[2] Jacobus Liber Baro ac Dominus Wassenariae Opdami, Hensbrokii, etc. [Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*, under date 20 Oct., 1670.]

[3] William de Nassau, lord in Leersum. [Wood, *op. cit.*]

[4] William Albert, Count Dona, Swedish ambassador in England.

[5] James de Steenhuys, free in Heumen. [Wood, *op. cit.*]

[6] Henry Nassau, Count of Auverquerque (1641-1708), later Master of the Horse to William III.

[7] John de Bye, lord in Albronswert [Wood, *op. cit.*].

[8] William Bentinck, later 1st Earl of Portland.

	Serviteurs
Monsr: Schap Gentilhome servant[1]	2
Monsr: Claer	1
Monsr: Remp Medicin	1
Monsr: Blaet son maistre d'hostele	1
Monsr: Marin son escuyer	1
cinque Pages	
un valet de chambre	
un clerc	
un chasseur	
un someleur	
Le Maiste cuisineir	
six laquais	

DOCUMENT No. V.

(MAINWARING MSS. PAPERS, No. 25b.)

A List of his Highnesse ye Prince of Oranges Servants and their Lodgeing.

Monsr. Zuithkum	Lodged at Mr. ffenns near WhiteHall.
Mr. Albronsweert & Dr. Rompfe	Mr. Sambourn's in Axe Yard.
Mr. Schape	Mr. Opinton's in Axe Yard.
Mr. Claer, Steward to Mr. Zulistin.	Mr. Brooke's in Axe Yard.
Mr. Blaet, under Steward Mr. Columbine, cheife Butler and the Master Cooke	Mrs. Powells in Duffin's Alley.
Mr. de Cluett	Mr. St. Gyle's in Axe Yard.
The first Page	Mr. Freeman's in King St.
The other four Pages	Mr. Bock's in Bell Alley.
Officers of the Paystry and under Butler	Mrs. Webb's in Duffin's Alley.
Mr. Dolin the Taylor	Mr. Wetherall's, Gardners Laine.
The Laundry	Mrs. Winche's in Gardners Lane.
The Perewiggmaker	Mr. Willson's in King Streete.
The Master Huntsman	Mrs. West in King Streete.
Mr. Ouverkirke's servants	Mr. Clarke's in Gardners Lane.
The Trumpetts	Mrs. Powell's in Duffin's Alley.
Six of the Princes Footmen	The Prince of Orange's Head in Westminster.
Mr. Dolin's ffinisher	Mr. Eele's in Gardners Lane.

[1] Herman Scaep, lord of Beerse. [Wood, *op. cit.*]

(*added in another hand*)

Mounsr. Schape & his man Mr. Opinton in Axe Yard 2 chambers at 9 - a weeke.

Mr. Francis of the Princes Bedchamber Mrs. Hebs in Kingstreet ; i bed 6/-.

Mr. Hamert & servants Mrs. Kinkett in Axeyard ii beds her best roome at 9/- a weeke.

Entered November 19-1670.

(*on p. 2 of MS.*)

A list of the persons of Quality attending his Highness and theire Lodgeing.

Monsr : Opdam	Lodged att Mrs. Portington's Hay Markett.
Mr. Sgravemoer	Mr. Cock's in Axe Yard.
Mr. Laerson Comte de Stiron & Mr. Beuclear	Mr. Renny's in the Hay Markett.
Mr. Oosterweere Mr. Alderson & Mr. Malden	Mrs. Welch's in Axe Yard.
Mr. Valkenbourg	Mrs. Poore's in Axe Yard.
Mr. Le Comte Dona	Mr. Clithero & Suffolk Streete.
Mr. D'Hemmema & Mr. D'Hamert	Mrs. Collet's in Axe Yard.
Mr. De La Salle	Mr. Sandby's in King Streete.

THE REVEREND RICHARD BAXTER'S LAST TREATISE.

Copied from the Manuscript in Dr. Williams' Library and Edited by
FREDERICK J. POWICKE, M.A., PH.D.

With an Introduction by
THE LATE GEORGE UNWIN, M.A.
PROFESSOR OF ECONOMIC HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is now beginning to be fully realized that the main clues to the great social changes generally known as the Industrial Revolution must be sought in the social history of the century preceding those changes. The little tractate of Baxter's discovered by Dr. Powicke casts a most valuable new light on this period. Readers of Macaulay's brilliant third chapter will remember that the account of the condition of the working classes with which he concludes is based largely on the estimates of Gregory King and Sir Charles Davenant.[1] But though these may be regarded as the founders of the modern science of statistics, most of their figures are little more than shrewd guesswork, and some of them afford better evidence of the common assumptions of the directing classes than any objective social facts. This is especially true of those figures that embody an attempted classification of the working population, and these estimates furnish the best approach to the study of Baxter's appeal.

In Gregory King's "Scheme," adopted by Davenant, "of the income and expense of the several families of England, calculated for the year 1688" the broad conclusion is reached that there are 500,586 families "increasing the wealth of the kingdom" and 849,000 families "decreasing the wealth of the kingdom." The pessimism of this

[1] Davenant, "An Essay upon the Probable Methods of making a People Gainers in the Balance of Trade" (1699).

estimate casts into the shade all modern talk about the submerged tenth or even the more recent estimates based on the studies of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree that twenty-five per cent. of the population are on the verge of starvation. The gloom is somewhat alleviated by the consideration that the families of those "decreasing the wealth" are estimated as consisting on the average of 3¼ persons each, whilst an average of 5⅓ is assigned to the more fortunate families; but the poor still remain in the majority as will be seen from the rest of the estimate.

	Population.	Family Income.	Yearly Income per Head.	Yearly Expense per Head.	Increase per Head.
		£ s.	£ s.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Increasing wealth	2,675,520	68 18	12 18	11 15 4	1 2 8
					Decrease per Head.
Decreasing wealth	2,825,000	10 10	3 3	3 7 6	4 6

What does this estimate mean and how was it arrived at? It was not based on any statistics of production, for none such existed. The decreasers of wealth include the whole body of labouring people and outservants, of cottagers and paupers, of common soldiers and sailors and vagrants. The earnings of all these who work are assumed to be below subsistence level, and yet at the same time to represent the total value of their production. As they are likewise supposed by hook or by crook to get a subsistence, the maintenance of themselves and their families involves a drain on the rest of the community. The estimate in fact rests upon what we may perhaps call a Deficit Value Theory of Labour which presents a striking contrast with Karl Marx's Surplus Value Theory and has about as much relation to the facts.

This great body of workers, who with their families constituted a majority of the population, though grouped together as "the Poor" and conceived of in the mass as unprofitable servants, was subdivided into two classes of nearly equal numbers but with widely different standards of life. The labouring people and outservants were estimated at 364,000 families with 3½ members each and a yearly income of £15, whilst the cottagers and paupers were reckoned as 400,000 families of 3¼ members with an income of £6 10s. and an

expenditure of £7 6s. 3d., who were supposed to be in receipt of poor relief. Even with this limitation, the paupers would still have been nearly a quarter of the whole population, and Macaulay argues with some force that Gregory King's estimate of the evil was an exaggerated one, but adds that "it has certainly never been proved that pauperism was a less heavy burden . . . during the last quarter of the seventeenth century than it is in our own time."

Baxter's "Poor Husbandmen," however, do not belong to the paupers nor even to the decreasers of wealth in King's classification; and in order to see where King places them we must have before us the four classes immediately above those already enumerated in income and immediately below them in numbers.

	Heads per Family.	Persons.	Yearly Income per Family.	Yearly Income per Head.	Yearly Expense per Head.	Yearly Increase per Head.
			£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
Freeholders of the lesser sort	5½	660,000	55 0	10 0	9 10	0 10
Farmers	5	750,000	42 10	8 10	8 5	0 5
Shopkeepers and tradesmen	4½	225,000	45 0	10 0	9 0	1 0
Artisans and handicrafts .	4	240,000	38 0	9 10	9 0	0 10

It is amongst King's farmer class that we must seek for Baxter's poor husbandmen. According to King's estimate, the farmer class as a whole constituted more than an eighth of the population, and it is noteworthy that though he estimates their income as greater than that of the artisans he considers them as a less thriving class and reckons their savings as only half as much. This lends support to one of Baxter's main points which lies in an unfavourable comparison of the poor husbandman's position with that of the craftsman.

There is, however, one omission in King and Davenant's classification which can hardly fail to strike the student of economic history. Although England had long been famous for its manufacture (mainly of woollen cloth) there is no mention of a manufacturing class, either employing or employed. No doubt the most numerous body—the spinners—are included under the cottagers and labouring people, the weavers, combers, dyers, and shearmen, under artisans and handicrafts, and a good many independent clothiers of the Yorkshire type

under the lesser freeholders and farmers. But as these workers and masters, together with the clothiers and dealers who organized the manufacture and linked it with distant markets, were the representatives of a new economic order to which the older social order was adapting itself, the absence of any recognition of this dominant factor greatly diminishes the value of King's "Scheme" as an interpretation of English society. It is a static not a dynamic interpretation. Perhaps the like might be said of most statistics. But this enables us the better to appreciate the interpretative value of Baxter's keen social observation, sharpened as it was by intense sympathy. He clearly distinguishes his Poor Husbandmen, not merely from freeholders who have land of their own but also from the more prosperous tenant farmers who had profited by the new order, either by carrying on some kind of manufactures or by furnishing the food supplies of the capital and other growing centres of industry and trade. Of both the latter kinds he must have seen many on the way from London to Kidderminster, and he would probably have seen even more if his journey had been to Norwich, to York, to Manchester or to Exeter. When these deductions have been made the Poor Husbandmen of Baxter will appear as the less prosperous of two sections within Gregory King's class of Farmers, enjoying a smaller average income than the £42 10s. estimated for that class as a whole. So that the small master craftsman, if King's estimate of his income as £38, including savings of £2, were correct, may easily have been materially better off than the poor farmer, quite apart from the lesser proportion of physical and mental wear and tear, which in Baxter's opinion fell to his lot.

But there is a further comparison which, though it seems less justifiable at first sight, is yet significant and worth considering. "The case of their servants," says Baxter, "could they but continue so and conteine themselves from marriage is far easier than that of the poor tenants that are their masters. For they know their works and wages and are troubled with no cares for paying rents and making good markets." The "Scheme" estimates the outservant's income at £15 and his average household as $3\frac{1}{2}$ persons. With a wife and $1\frac{1}{2}$ children to support it would not be surprising if, to use King's phraseology, he "decreased the wealth of the kingdom" by seven shillings a year. But the £15 was his own earnings, family or no family. It was the labourer's wage of a shilling a day, well authenti-

cated by the researches of Thorold Rogers. That an unmarried labourer with £15 a year might be not only more free from care and more able to save than a farmer with an income of £35 and a household of five is fairly arguable, but the real point of Baxter's comparison is that an enterprising labourer who was postponing marriage would have no inducement to become a tenant farmer in England but would apply his savings and his energies in some other direction.

If Baxter's account of the facts is confirmed by the economic historian, what of his account of the causes? Here too we may say, setting aside all question of social responsibility—a matter on which Baxter is more entitled to speak than ourselves—that his diagnosis is in full agreement with those of Thorold Rogers[1] and of later investigators. He attributes the depressed condition of the poor husbandmen to the fact that they were rack-rented, and the best authorities are agreed that rack-rents, or as economists would call them "economic rents," were beginning to be prevalent at this period. This implies (i) that freeholders and copyholders whose rent could not be raised and who therefore enjoyed the unearned increment were in occupation of an ever-dwindling proportion of the land under cultivation which was at this time being rapidly increased by enclosure; and (ii) that tenants were coming to pay the whole market value of their land in the form of a yearly rent on a short lease, instead of purchasing a long lease on a low rent by a considerable fine paid in advance. These changes were hastened by the large transfers of ownership that took place at the Dissolution of the Monasteries and in the Civil War and by the rapid and continuous shrinkage in the value of money from 1540 to 1660, which made it unprofitable for the owner to grant a long lease at a money rent. The average price of wheat, which had been six shillings a quarter before the Reformation, had risen to forty-eight shillings by the time of the Civil War, so that it is not surprising that the rent of ordinary arable land had in many cases risen from one shilling to six shillings per acre.

From the Restoration to the Revolution the price of wheat was in the main falling and in the four years before Baxter wrote his pamphlet the average was 28s. 2d. But rents, which had been raised along with prices though not to the full extent, would not readily fall with

[1] Rogers, "A History of Agriculture and Prices," v., 802, *et seq.*

them. The maintenance of economic rents was being made possible in spite of a fall in prices by improvements in agriculture and by a prosperous condition of industry, but the class least able to adapt itself to these conditions was that of the small tenant farmer, with little capital or resource, cultivating the common fields on the old methods, through whose land in North Oxfordshire, in South Warwick or South Worcestershire, Baxter must have passed on his way from Kidderminster to London. The poor husbandman ploughing the stubborn glebe more fit for pasture could neither bargain effectively with his landlord for a lower rent nor adapt his production to a better market, nor compete with the capital and the energy of the enclosing landlords and the enterprising farmers who were lending fertility to waste places. He was being left stranded on the margin of cultivation.[1] Baxter imagines a landlord expostulating with him "our lands are grown so cheap that we cannot get tenants for them. Some houses stand empty a year together; and some run away when they should pay their rent." To which he answers "This that you say is true and is like to be more so ere long. Now Ireland is to be as it were replanted, multitudes will go thither for better landlords and bargains as many do to Jamaica, New Jersey, Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, Barbadoes, Bermudas, New England."

Benjamin Franklin's account of his ancestry may afford us some light at this point. The family freehold of thirty acres in Northamptonshire, being considered insufficient for their maintenance, the eldest son combined his farming with the hereditary calling of a smith, and the younger sons were put out to other trades. Thomas, the eldest uncle of Benjamin, though bred a smith, being ingenious and encouraged in learning as all his brothers were by the squire, qualified for the bar and became a considerable man in the county. John, the next uncle, was bred a dyer of wool, and Benjamin, who was apprenticed to a silk dyer in London, invented a system of shorthand, made a collection of pamphlets and left behind two quarto MS. volumes of his own poetry. Josiah, the father of the more illustrious Benjamin, was also a dyer, but, having migrated to Boston in search of religious freedom, he set up there as a tallow chandler. He had seventeen children, thirteen of whom survived, and all his sons were apprenticed to trades.

[1] Gonner, "Common Land and Enclosure," 137-41, 161-86.

The sons of the poor tenant had not the same freedom of access as those of the freeholder to the skilled trades and professions. The Statute of Apprentices excluded them, not only from town handicrafts, but from their most natural resource, the calling of the country weaver. This restriction, however, had been largely ignored and was repealed in 1694, and perhaps the main outflow of labour from the land took this direction and produced the new proletariat of textile workers which is to be found in the suburbs of London, in the clothing districts of the West, and in South-East Lancashire in the first half of the eighteenth century. The social evils foretold by Baxter took the form not of a rising of peasants, but of riots of weavers and wool combers—the descendants of his "poor husbandmen."

There is something sacred in the above: for it was Mr. Unwin's last bit of literary work, very generously done at my request.

PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.

Two months before his death on 8th December, 1691, when he was 76 and in the extremity of weakness, Baxter wrote a short treatise which he signed "18 October, 1691 *Moriturus G. Salvianus.*" It was, so far as we know, about the last thing that issued from his pen. Towards the end of it he mentions incidentally that he had been the author of 128 books. This was his farewell word; and what at once arrests attention is its character and purpose. Theology, doctrinal controversy, questions of church-government, which had often engaged so much of his time and thought, are no longer in the foreground. It is near the truth, indeed, to say that these things had never held the first place in his mind, except momentarily. Religion held the first place—religion as an experience which set him right with God and man. Hence he could not possibly be indifferent to the moral demands of the Gospel. That faith in Christ entails absolute obedience to Christ became his motto. And more than anything else in the teaching of Christ, what seems to have moved him most deeply was its insistence on the "humane" side of conduct. This reinforced his own strong natural bent. For from boyhood, he was spontaneously merciful, generous and kind; nor would it be possible to find a single example in his recorded words or

life of deliberate cruelty or hardness. Christ appealed to him, therefore, with special force as the friend of men—in particular of the unprivileged, the oppressed, the weak, the poor. When he was writing his "Saints Everlasting Rest" and had occasion to note the parable of Judgment in Matt. 25, the impression it made upon him was so startling and profound that he lived thenceforth under the spell of it. Again and again we meet with his citation of Christ's words "Inasmuch as ye did it—or did it not—to one of the least of these my brethren ye did it, or did it not, to me." In the spirit of these words he viewed all his possessions—spiritual, intellectual or material—as a trust for the benefit of those less favoured. Above all, he considered the poor, and gave to them habitually more than he reserved for himself. His notions on this matter were mediæval rather than modern. He was influenced merely by the fact, and the obvious effects, of poverty. Wise counsels, and wise measures based upon them, which are now the rule, had not yet been thought of. The poor were Christ's brethren—that was enough. To relieve them, in proportion to his means and their necessity, was Christ's will. That closed the matter. On the other hand, he could not but regard it, for the same reason, as a damning sin to neglect, despise, defraud and oppress the Poor. We have here the sufficient explanation of the extraordinary vehemence with which he spoke to the wealthy classes of England. Though far from being a leveller, or even a democrat, he realized, as few did, the claims and rights of the common man; the temptations of the wealthy to ignore these; and the penalties—individual and social—of so doing. An address "to the nobles, gentlemen and all the rich, directing them how they may be richer" which he wrote as Preface for one of his earlier books[1] (1658) may be mentioned as an illustration. One might commend it for several passages of surpassing eloquence; but more wonderful is its moral fervour, the fervour of a prophet who fears not the face of man, in pleading for the poor and needy against the oppressive vices of their unjust and selfish superiors. It would be difficult to find in the English language a bolder indictment—severe, impartial, and unsparing—yet qualified by a prevalent desire to be just and convincing.

[1] "The Crucifying of the World by the Cross of Christ," enlarged from an assize Sermon at Worcester, and preached at the request of his friend Thomas Foley Esq., High Sheriff.

And it is the chief interest of the following treatise that it reveals the old man of 76 as cherishing the same fire in his heart as the man of 43. The added years, with all they brought to him of such sufferings as are apt to narrow the mind and embitter the soul, had left him no less truly sensitive—perhaps more so—to the cry of the poor. But there is a significant difference. It is not the poor in general of whom he now thinks. It is the sort of poor among whom he was born and bred—the poor husbandman of places like Eaton Constantine and Rowton and High Ercall and Wroxeter whose hard lives he had witnessed. He is living in London. Its streets are around him and its noises are in his ears; but in memory he is back again among the scenes of his youth. No doubt he has heard of what the Poor Husbandman is made to endure elsewhere—in every part of the land, but what gives point and poignancy to all this comes from those pictures of the poor man's lot and life which he had seen. He had seen, and understood, and sympathised. The sense of its sordid misery, over against the flaming luxury of those most responsible for it, leaps up into a flame within him. He must speak to Dives for Lazarus one last word. Every other interest compared with this dies away. Religion is nothing unless it inspires justice and kindness. He must say this once for all; and say it to those who are in constant danger of forgetting it. So, with trembling hand he takes up his pen and wrote. He writes, as was his habit, straight on—not stopping to polish his sentences, nor to correct little mistakes; careless of spelling, or style, or repetition—eager only to get the task done ere the lamp of his fading life goes out. It is a pathetic document in some respects. For, evidence of the trembling hand and also alas! of the waning vigour of mind is traceable on nearly every page. But a kindly reader passes by any sign of weakness; and only remarks how the old man maintains to the end all his spiritual glow, his moral passion, his clear vision of the fact that social righteousness is as essential an implicate of the Gospel as personal salvation.

2. Attached to the autograph of the treatise and bound up with it is a fair copy made by an unknown hand. Probably it was made with a view to publication; and it is certain (from his "request to the Subscribed Readers") that publication was what Baxter desired and expected. One wonders, therefore, why the MS. has never seen the light till to-day. It must have been known to Matthew Sylvester the

curator of all the Baxter MSS. and the laborious editor of the "Reliquiae Baxterianae." Very likely, too, it was known to Dr. Daniel Williams who collaborated with Sylvester in preparing for the press another of Baxter's posthumous treatises—the "Protestant Religion truly stated" (1692); and also to Baxter's assistant and intimate friend, Joseph Read, who edited the treatise (1694) on "Universal Redemption" which had been left to him in MS. Why then did they, contrary to his intention, leave this latest of his writings in the dark? The explanation is not clear; but, for myself, I should find it in the feeling of his friends that its sentiments were too radical and the author's expression of them here and there too frank or fierce. On more than one former occasion, Baxter had brought trouble on himself by the blunt assertion of unpopular views, political and social as well as religious. A memorable example was his "Holy Commonwealth" (1659) which, in effect, challenged every extant theory or practice of government; and rendered him so obnoxious to almost every party in the State that, at last, for the sake of peace—though retracting no important point—he revoked the book. So in the case of his "Breviate of Margaret Charlton," we have his own word for it, that the first draft of this Life of his wife displayed such frankness, with regard to the steps which led up to his marriage, as to shock the timorous prudence of the friends who had a sight of it, and urge them to advise (alas! successfully) a drastic pruning. Timorous prudence never weighed much with Baxter. What he thought he said; and said, usually, in the plainest words. It will be seen that he does the same in this Treatise. Thus, e.g., he is not in the least afraid to tell Landlords who object to his "Plea" on the ground that the "maine weight" of taxation "lyeth" on them, that such an arrangement is perfectly just. "Who should pay money but those that love it?" (c. vi., obj. 9). There is much else in a like strain and one may well suppose that it would frighten the cautious guardians of his reputation.

3. Interspersed with the general theme Baxter lets drop (suo modo) a number of welcome items about himself. We knew, e.g., that he was constrained by the poor's necessity "to play the physician" at Kidderminster; but here he tells us how long he did so—"about 6 or 7 yeares" (c. i., § 4) and lets us see what medicines he prescribed (c. vii., § 3). He had been forced to give up flesh-meat by the nature of his infirmities; but here he tells how he gave it up gladly,

how it had always gone against his feeling "to take away the lives of our fellow-creatures" for human good, and how he had become convinced that a vegetarian diet is best (c. iv., § 2). Further, he clears up the question to what extent he himself had been an owner of land or houses; and what had been his experience in that capacity. "Five tenements of freehold" as his "patrimony," and one purchased house were all he could boast, and his net income from them had been "never a penny" (c. vi., obj. 11).

4. These personal details arise out of his treatment of the main theme—which is, the condition in England of the "Poor Husbandman," by whom is meant not small landowners of the yeoman class, nor tenants of large holdings, nor even tenants of small holdings if they live near London, or have a trade at command besides their farm; but only the rack-rented man wholly dependent on the produce of his few acres and obliged to pay whatever his landlord may demand, or else go. "In all countreys" (counties) "the small livings are the farre greatest number" (c. i., § 1). Their rents range from £80 to £5; and it is the smallest that entail the hardest lot. "It's well if all" the tenants' "care and toil will serve to pay their rent" (c. i., § 2). Yet "the Labor of these men is great and circular or endless: insomuch that their bodyes are almost in constant wearyness and their minds in constant care or trouble (c. i., § 3). Hence they have no leisure or desire for reading. Many of them cannot read, or have no money to spare for the purchase of books, even a Bible. So, they "cannot have their children taught to read;" and, consequently, these, with themselves, are in danger of lapsing into barbarism. Baxter dwells much on this aspect of the case. "Ignorance is the soile of all errors and wickedness; and knowledge, by necessary helpes, is the parent of all piety and virtue" (c. ii., § 7). But ignorance, with its resulting degradation, is only a part of the evil which besets the Poor husbandman. No less cruel and crushing is the virtual slavery of his relation to the landlord (c. i., § 9). "None are so servilely dependent." Then, too, how sad is his case, "when husband, wife or children fall sick"! For "they have no money to pay a physician or an apothecary." "I have known frugall householders of £20 and £30 a year that had much adoe to pay for physick the summe of 10s. to save their lives" (c. i., § 11). Further, let the significance of such facts be realized. "Think not this a matter of

small importance, as if it were but relieving a Lazarus at your doores . . . it is of publike consequence and of spiritual and everlasting concernment" (c. ii). For the husbandmen in question form the greater part of the nation, they are "those that the nation can least spare; it is *them* that all live by." "What would London be without the Husbandman, but many hundred thousand famished corpses?" All who work in cities are bound up with him and flourish or decay as he does.

Public honour and safety, also, are bound up with him. If he be mentally a slave and a fool where is the honour of being his King or Lord or Master? And, since it is from husbandmen that most of the soldiers are drawn, is not the nation's safety hazarded by their debasement? "The militia of a well-constituted Kingdome should consist of men of known interest that have something of their owne to defend and not of mere mercenary slaves that, having nothing to value but their lives, will shift for their lives by flight or treachery" (c. ii., § 6). Moreover, it is the Landlord himself who must eventually suffer most by his own injustice. Landlords complain that they cannot get or keep their Tenants. Men wont take up the land, or run away when the rent is due. That is so (says Baxter); but the blame is yours: "If you would abate their rents so farre [he has urged an abatement of one-third] (c. iv., § 2) as they might live comfortably like men or like Englishmen and Christians they would neither turne up your tenements nor run away or quit the land" (c. vi., 11). Thus, for selfish reasons alone, landlords would do well to amend their ways. But not chiefly on this ground does Baxter make his appeal. He makes it rather on the twofold ground of what is required from a lover of the commonwealth, and his fellowmen. "Gentlemen (mistake me not) the sume of my request to you is but this, that you will regard the publike welfare of the nation above any few particular cases, and the interest of Christian religion in the soules of men above all youre worldly interest of fleshly pleasures" (c. iv., § 1).

5. But he wrote with his eyes open. Although the men addressed were nominally Christian and strong adherents of the Church, he did not expect to overcome the self-indulgence practised by the wealthy landlords as a class. "Lust needeth so much that all that they can extort is little enough to feed it" (c. iii. § 4).

6. So, on the assumption that the landlords as a body will not be persuaded by his plea—"yea that there is little hope that they will so much as read it"—he directs the "poor unrelieved husbandmen" how to regard their painful lot, and make the best of it, and turn it to the highest account (c. vii.).

Baxter MSS. (Treatises) Vol. iii., ff. 154-171
(copy) ff. 172-194

THE POOR HUSBANDMAN'S ADVOCATE
TO
RICH RACKING LANDLORDS

written in compassion especially of their *Souls* and of the Land
by GILDAS[1] SALVIANUS.[2]

To the Lords Knights and Gentlemen of England, the Legacy of a dying Lover of Souls and of Charity, who would fain persuade them not to come to Dives's place of torment and to believe Christ who assureth them that by what they faithfully give to the Poor they give incomparably more to themselves, as giving it to him who will reward them.

A request to the subscribed Readers.

It is a great edifice that is to be built and therefore requireth many Hands: Lords, Knights and other Rich country Landlords must be

[1] Gildas *Badonicus*, sive sapiens, Brittannus Monachus (fl. *c.* 516-573) ("Bibliotheca Historia Medii Aevi," von August Potthast, Berlin, 1896). Archbishop Usher (Primord, pp. 412, 444, 906. Edit., Dublin, 1639), distinguished him from Gildas *Albanius* (425-512) and put the birth of *Badonicus* in 520 (assumed date of the siege of Kair Badon, i.e. Bath). Baxter may have read Usher's book and agreed with him; but this wouldn't affect his estimate of the prophetic character ascribed to Gildas, on the strength of his history entitled "De Excidio et conquestu Brittaniae ac flebili Castigatione in Reges, Principes et Sacerdotes." The second part is "a lengthened series" of invectives against Kings, Priests and People—especially Priests. On this account it was called the "querulous book." The edition (1568) of John Jorseline, chaplain to Archbishop Parker—which Baxter very likely used—has for frontispiece a scourge held down by a hand, and, about it, the words "whoso knoweth the Lord's will and doth it not shall be beaten with many stripes."

[2] Salvianus (*c.* 400-480) Presbyter of Marseilles, "the very type of a monk and a scholar" (in the eyes of his contemporaries) would appeal to Baxter by his treatise, entitled "De gubernatione Dei" which aimed to show

the Master Builders. I have here prepared some materials but we want carrying Labourers to reach them up. I am too low and feeble to climb high. Without such Conveyance all is lost. As for the wise Godly temperate Gentlemen, I hope they have not much need of such Exhortations: they are taught of God to love their poor Brethren, and to feed, cloath and relieve Christ in the least of his Servants, whom he disdaineth not to call his Brethren (and the greatest Lord should not disdain it). But those that most need it I have no access to: and if they chance to see this little Book they will not read it: they have

how the degeneracy of the Romans had brought upon Church and State alike God's judgment in the shape of the Northern barbarians, and that worse will follow unless they repent.

Baxter's appropriation to himself of the two-fold name, *Gildas Salvianus*, was not a sign of presumption but of his conviction that, face to face with similar conditions, he was called to deliver a similar call to Repentance.

The seriousness with which he took up this rôle is the remarkable thing. *Gildas Salvianus* is the first, and leading, title of his "Reformed Pastor" (1655) addressed to the clergy.

But I have found a MS. in Dr. Williams's Library,* with the inscription "Repent O England: the *third* part of *Gildas Salvianus*," or, a sermon of repentance prepared to have been preached at the Merchants Lecture on the 2nd of September, 1679, being the anniversary Fast in remembrance of the burning of London and since enlarged by Richard Baxter." The dedicatory epistle (dated 15 Sept.) is to those Merchants and others who have encouraged us in preaching the Lecture at Pinner's Hall, and on p. 2 is a list, under seven heads, of those sins which the Merchants and others are to search out and repent of. Most interesting, however, is a sort of prospectus to the effect that "*Gildas Salvianus*," means to address himself to all "the several parties in England and to call them all, including himself, to Repentance for their particular notorious sins." The scheme was to have four Parts. Part one was the "Reformed Pastor"; part ii. was the Sermon of Repentance which he preached to the House of Commons at a fast the day before the recalling home of the King (30 April, 1660); part iii. was the unpublished sermon to the merchants (just mentioned); Part iv. was to comprehend all sections of the Church; the Cities or Corporations; the surviving Members of that Parliament, which made the Corporation Act, the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, etc.; the Nobles, Justices, Lawyers, Gentry, and rich men of the Land; and, lastly, the King—to whom, however, he would venture to speak "no words of reproof but a few of humble and necessary petition." It was to this fourth part (a summary of the rest) that he intended to prefix the words "*Repent O England*, John Bradford's farewell at the Stake." The scheme was never worked out; and the fourth part reduced itself to this plea with the "Rich racking landlords" for the "Poor Husbandman."

* B. MSS. (Treatises), iv. ff. 281-315.

other work to spend the day in; at their tables w^th^ Dives's five Brethren, and at the Tavern and the Play House and the Gaming House and such like: the very Title of it will provoke them to cast it by w^th^ scorn. But I hope there's not a Lord, Knight, or Esq. in England, that hath not some men of conscience and clemency that have access to them and Interest in them; it is such that I now intreate for the sake of the Kingdom, and of their poor neighbours, and those Rich men's Souls, to put this book, or such another, into those Landlords hands and intreate them seriously to read it: especially the Parish Ministers whose case doth doubly oblige them to take care of the Poor. Those Ministers that have not sufficient to relieve the poor themselves may thus helpe them by the hands of those that can. And pious servants that dwell with such Men may find some opportunity to offer them such a book. But sure no Lord or Knight that is of the Church of England can be offended with his Pastor or Chaplaine for such charitable motions. If they reject this for the Author or Title Sake, get them to read the *Spittle*[1] sermons (I would they were printed in one volume), especially the excellent Sermons of the excellent Dr. Isaac Barrow[2] for Love and Confession to the Poor.

Octob. 18th, 1691, Morituru G. Salvianus.

The Contents.

Chap. 1. The matter of fact described.
Chap. 2. The great Importance of the Case.
Chap. 3. The Causes of this Common Evill.
Chap. 4. The Remedies humbly offered to Landlords.
Chap. 5. A multitude of plain pertinent Texts of Scripture cited to move those that believe in Christ.
Chap. 6. The objections against it fully answered.
Chap. 7. Advice to poor Tenants that can get no Reliefe frō Man.

To avoid prolixity I omit the consenting Testimonies of the generality of the sober Heathens and Mahometans; and the great Care that the Grecian and Roman Laws took for the ingenuous

[1] Spittall or Spital Sermons.

[2] Isaac Barrow [1614-1680]. The reference is to Barrow's "Spital" Sermon "on the Duty and Reward of Bounty to the Poor," Easter (1671) "which is said to have occupied 3½ hours in delivery, though it was not preached in full." It fills 30 pp. of the 17th Edition (large folio) of his works.

education and usage of the vulgar. Yea, that which I say for Charity to the poore hath, by the light and Law of nature, the acknowledgment of all ages and nations that have anything of humanity though the tyrannical and most wicked obey not what they confesse to be their duty.

The Summe is a Request.

That the poore Husbandmen may not be so toyled like beasts, endangered for want of necessary warmth, and distracted with cares to pay their rents, as to disable them to mind their soul-concernes and to read God's word and worship him in their familyes and to educate their children in civility and piety; and that thereby the land degenerate not into Atheisine, Infidelity and Barbarisme.

The oppression of the poore Husbandmen in Germany by the Rich, made them hearken to Muncer[1] and other seducers that bid them endure their slavery no longer: if oppression makes a wise man mad, no wonder if it does so by the ignorant vulgar: so great was the number of the risers that the number of the slaine is said to be an hundred thousand. Among others Conrad Lycosthenes[2] thus describeth it. De Prodig: page 532:

"Anno 1525 in Augusto sol per aliquot dies ut igneus globus in Coelo comparuit." For "ipso Anno in Germania horribile et ante nunquam auditi motus a servis Rusticis in Alsatia, Suevia, Francia, Thuringia et in illis terris quae ad Rhenum scitae sunt, excitabantur. Motus hi magna vi et armis Principum sunt repressi, adeo ut, intra menses fere tres, supra centena millia Rusticorum conciderint in conflictu, non aliter atq. pecora trucidati."

Should the Romane Powers here again prevaile, the restoring of Monasteries and Church Lands may take downe the tumor of the Belly of this land in a lesse desirable manner than by a Jewish Jubilee or a Romane *Lex Agraria* and may (make) many wish, as the fire of London did, that they had given more to promote their

[1] Muncer = Thomas Munzer (*c.* 1489-1525) had great influence over the common people. He professed to work out Luther's principles in a sort of communistic theocracy which he actually set up at Mühlhausen where he was captured and executed by Philip of Hesse in May, 1525.

[2] (1518-1561.) The work intended bore the title "Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon, quae praeter naturae ordinem . . . ab exordio mundi . . . ad haec . . . tempora, acciderunt, &c." 1557 fol.

future reward, rather than to stand amazed in sorrow while all is taken from them against their wills, as the reward of their iniquity.

The Husbandman's and the Nation's Advocate and Petition to Racking Landlords.

Gentlemen,

Though these lines must expect to meet with much prejudice, I beseech you let them not be rejected with so much contempt as to be denied your perusal and sober consideration. They are short and you find time for worke of less importance. Because they that live in ease and fulness do seldome truly know the Case of the laborious and poore, I will first describe the matter of fact and tell you truly the poore husbandman's case, and consequently, the state of England, and then I will tell you the importance of thy case, and next the causes of it, and lastly the cure so far as it is curable.

Chap. 1.

The matter of fact described.

§ 1. The Body of this Kingdom consisteth of Land Proprietors, of Hand Labourers, of Tradesmen and Merchants, and of the Literate Professions of divers sorts. The land proprietors are such as use their Land by themselves and servants, or by Tenants. These Tenants are they whose case I am now to open and plead. The husbandmen are the Stamen[1] of the Commonwealth. All the rest do live by them. It is the fruits of the Earth and of their Labours (with a little addition of fishing) that maintaineth all. And yet whose case is so hard as theirs? Gentlemen say, oure Land is our owne and therefore we may make the best of it for our owne comodity, and he that will give most for it shall be our tenant.

§ 2. The old custome was to let lands for Lives or for long terms of years, and to take a fine at first and a small yearly rent afterwards, and so, when a man, with his marriage portion, had taken a lease he lived comfortably afterward and got somewhat for his children. But now in most countrys (counties) the custom is changed into yearly rack-rents:[2] or, if a man takes a Lease for many years it is

[1] "The warp in the upright loom of the ancients." "As in a web, the Stamen or Warp is fast fixed, through which the woof is cast or woven," Fuller's *Pisgah*, 1650 (Oxford Dictionary).

[2] A rent equal or nearly equal to the value of the land.

yearly to pay as much as the tenement is worth and that is as much as any man will give for it, and in all counties the small Livings are the farre greatest number: where there is one of 80£ or 70£ or 60£, yea or 50£ value, there are many of 30£ or 20£ or 10£ or 5£. And what will one of 10£ or 20£ do towards the charge of stocking and manuring it, and the maintaining of himselfe, wife, and children with food and cloathing, and paying them for their labour: And how hard will it be after all this, to pay for it 20£ rent? And greater Livings must have a greater stock and more servants and labourers to manage them. But usually such have the better advantage, having much to sell besides what maintaineth them. But few have so good a bargaine as to lay up anything considerable for their children. Its well if all their care and toil will serve to pay their rent.

§ 3. The Labor of these men is great, and circular or endless: insomuch that their bodyes are allmost in constant wearyness and their minds in constant care or trouble. Yet for all this I pitty not their bodyes much because their Labour is usually recompensed with health. Nor do I much pitty them for their coarse fare, so they have but fire and cloathing to keepe them warme, and food that is not an enemy to health. For by the advantage of their Labour and health, their browne bread and milk and pease pies and apple pies and puddings and pancakes and gruel and flummery[1] and furmety,[2] yea dry bread, and butter and cheese and cabbages and turnips and parsnips and carrots and onions and potatoes and whey and butter-milk and small drinke, do afford their appetite a pleasanter relish and their bodyes more strength and longer life than all the varieties and fullnes of flesh and wines and strong drinkes do, to the idle gluttonous and voluptuous rich men: and usually now it is the Diveses that lie ulcerated by sores and tormented with the Gowt, and the tongues of their flatterers cannot lick them into ease. The worst of the poore mans case as to health, is that they are put to goe through raine and wett, through thick and thin, through heat and cold and oft want that which nature needeth. But alas! it is a greater cause of pitty that they usually want those helpes for knowledge and a godly and

[1] Flummery (Welsh) = a kind of food made by coagulation of wheat flour and oatmeal (Oxford Dictionary).

[2] Furmety = frummety, a dish made of hulled wheat, boiled in milk and seasoned with sugar, spice, etc. (Wright's English Dialect Dictionary).

Heavenly life, and comfortable preparation for, and prospect of, death that others more ordinarily enjoy.

(1) They are usually so poore that they cannot have time to read a chapter in the bible or to pray in their families. They come in weary from their labours, so that they are fitter to sleep than to read or pray: and their servants are so heavy with early rising and hard working that they cannot attend to what they heare. The soule is here so tyed to the body that it hath constant need of its right temperament for its due operation: a heavy body tired with labour is like a tired horse to a traveller, or Lute out of tune to a musician, or a knife or toole to cut or worke with that wants an edge. The aged, weak, and sick do feel what a weary body is; how unfit for any religious exercise save complaining and begging mercy of God. I cannot but pitty such when they sleepe at Sermon or at Prayer, and say as Christ to his sleepy disciples *The Spirit is willing but the Flesh is weak.*

(2) Yea, abundance, bred up in toil and poverty, cannot read, nor cannot have their children taught to reade. Such an education is as effectuall as a Popish Canon to keep the vulgar from reading the holy Scriptures. Alas! What is a Bible to such any more than bare paper (unlesse they heare another read it). What a dolefule case is most of the Christian world in, for want of this! In America, Georgia, Abassia, Greece, Moscovie, Poland, Lithuania, Livonia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Bosnia, Russia, Servia, Hungary, yea, among the poore peasants or tenants in Spain, Portugal, France, etc., how few can read? yea, in Denmark and much of the Swedes Dominions? What nation is so happy in this as England? And yet till one poore Nonconformist ejected Minister, Thomas Gouge,[1] got fourscore reading schools there set up, how many thousands were there in Wales that could not read! Yea, how many thousand such yet are there; not only there but throughout the greatest part of this land.

[1] 1609-1681, "the silenced Minster of Sepulchres Parish—who made works of charity a great part of the business of his life," *R.B.*, iii., 17, 18, 148 (for characterisation of him) 190 (activity in and for Wales). In his "Christian Directory" (1673), Baxter prints a long letter which he had written to Gouge answering his two questions, "Should one devote or set by a certain part of daily income, and what proportion is a man bound to give to the poor?"—Pt. iv., cap. 30.

No nation on earth is so blessed with learning and plenty of excellent books of all sorts; but what are they to them that cannot read? Printing hath been a blessed means of increasing knowledge and religion in the world; but what is it to these poor men and women? Ministers study to write in the most instructing and edifying manner, and to these poor people it is of no use—no more than preaching to the deafe, or in a tongue not understood.

(3) I find those that can read are so poore that they cannot spare money to buy a Bible nor a smaller book.

(4) And reading much is of so great advantage for knowledge that, without it, the poore people are the lesse capable of profitting at the Church by hearing. How little successe have ministers usually with such, by their publike reading or preaching! And how can the Pastor teach all these to understand the catechisme and learne it? The eye taketh in Sentiments more effectually than the ears: especially when men can ofter Read than Heare, and can choose a subject and booke that is most suitable to them, and can there review what they had forgotten. They cannot so often heare againe and recall the same sermon which they had heard in publike.

(5) And when poverty and custome have trained up the people in so unhappy a way, they usually grow into a contempt, and thence into a malignant scorne and hatred, of that which they want[1]: like the Turkes that banish learning as an enemy to the publike state, that taketh men off from their labour and trades and warfare and service to their great masters. And hence it is that this ignorant rabble are everywhere the greatest enemies against Godly ministers and people. And if they can but get a Literate malignant Prelate or Priest out of faction and enmity to encourage them, they will be ready for any mischievous designs. If any would raise an Army to extirpate knowledge and religion, the Tinkers and Sowgawters[2] and crate-carryers and beggars and bargemen and all the rabble that cannot reade, nor ever use, the bible, will be the forwardest to come in to such a malitia. And they will joyne with those that cry up the Church, if it may but tend to pull downe the Church and all Serious Church-worke and interest. If Papists or forreine enemies or Rebells would raise insurrections, these are fitt to serve them, if they get but

[1] I.e. lack.

[2] Swineherds? Not in any general or local dictionary that I know of.

advantage by some great Landlords and hypocrite malicious Clergiemen to seduce them. And poverty, causing ignorance, turneth men to Barbarians like the wild Americans and then into bruites and then into devils; unlesse where the publike power prevaileth against them, or God's Grace dothe notably take hold on here and there one among them. Whereas reading and praying and meditating tendeth to knowledge in the necessary effects of knowledge, and teach men to live if not as saints yet as Civill men and *emollit mores nec sinit esse foras*. If wisdome had not been necessary Solomon had not so magnified it, nor a Saviour bin sent from heaven to teach it, nor a Scripture and ministry ordered to propagate it.

(5) The case of their servants, could they but continue so and containe themselves from marriage, is farre easyer than of the poor Tenants that are their masters. For they know their worke and wages and are troubled with no cares for paying Rents or making good markets, or for the losse of corn or cattle, the rotting of sheepe or the unfavourable weather, nor for providing for wife and children and paying labourers' and servants' wages.

(6) But the condition of their Landlords household servants is as farre above these poore Tenants as a Gentleman is above a day labourer. They live in fullness to the satisfying of the flesh and comparatively in idleness. They feed on the variety of flesh and fish that come from their masters tables—when the poore tenants are glad of a piece of hanged bacon once a week, and some few that can kill a Bull eate now and then a bit of hanged biefe, enough to trie the stomack of an Ostrige.[1] He is a rich man that can afford to eat a joint of fresh meate (biefe, mutton or veale) once in a month or fortnight. If their Sow Pigge or their hens breed chickens, they cannot afford to eate them, but must sell them to make their rent. They cannot afford to eate the egges that their hens lay nor the apples or peares that grow on their trees (save some that are not vendible) but must make money of all. All the best of their butter and cheese they must sell, and feed themselves and children and servants with skimd cheese and skimd milke and whey curds. And, through God's mercy, all this doth them no harme. But how great is the difference betweene their dyet and labour and case and that of the poorest

[1] I.e. Ostrich.

household servants of Lords, Knights and Gentlemen: the poore tenant takes every foot boy or groome or porter of his Landlord to be a gentleman whose favour seemeth a preferment to him: but if a Butler, or a Chamberlain, or a Clerke or Steward do but smile on him he thinks he is blest.

(7) It is much easyer with the handicrafts labourer that hath a good trade. A Joyner or a Turner can worke in the dry howse—with tolerable or pleasant work—and knoweth his price and wage. A Weaver or a Shoemaker or a Taylor can worke without the wetting or tyring of his Body, and can thinke and talke of the concerns of his soule without impediment to his labour. I have known many[1] that weave in the Long Loome that can set their sermon-notes or a good book before them and read and discourse together for mutual edification while they worke. But so the poore husbandman can seldom do. And though the labour of a Smyth be hard, it is in a dry howse and but by short fittes: and little, in comparison of Threshing and Reaping, but as nothing in comparison of Mowing, which constantly puls forth a mans whole strength. And though a poore carryer hath a toilsome life, going through all weathers and all roads, yet he knoweth his work and wages, and is free from abundance of the husbandmans losses and cares. The same I may say of others that work in iron: The nailors and spurriers and sithsmiths[2] and swordmakers and all the rest about Dudley and Stourbridge and Brumicham[3] and Walsall and Wedgbury[3] and Wolverhampton and all the country. They live in poverty, but not in the husbandmans case. They know their work and pay; and have but little further care. The same I may say of fishermen at sea. Their Labour is tolerable and knoweth its times and bounds, and their care is but to catch their fish and sell it. As to seamen and soldiers, if they be such as only make a trade of serving the covetousness of merchants, or of killing men for their military gaine or honor or a licentious tyrannical life, rather than for the good or safety of the comonwealth, I shall not bring them into comparison but acknowledge them more miserable than the Husbandman and than a Highway robber is than any honest labourer, or the wolfe than the sheepe that shall not scape the pastors revenge, though he teare the lambs.

[1] At Kidderminster. [2] I.e. scythesmiths.
[3] Birmingham, Wednesbury.

(8) And uppon all this it is observable that though we are most beholden to Husbandry for the maintenance of Prince and People, Rich and Poore, and all the lande, yet few are so hardly used as the Husbandmen. And, which I speake with griefe, except here and there one (of the richer sort mostly that are not pincht with the necessity of others) there is far more ignorance of religion among them than among tradesmen and corporation inhabitants and poore men of manuall artifices. And yet they are not usually guilty of the sins of Gluttony, fornication or adultery, idlenes, sloth; nor usually of drunkenness, so much as rich citizens, and great mens' full and idle serving men: for *sine cerere et Baccho frigat Venus*. But among Merchants, Mercers, Drapers and other corporation-tradesmen, and among Weavers, Taylors, and such like Labourers, yea among poore naylors, and such like, there is usually found more knowledge and religion than among the poore *enslaved* husbandmen.

(9) I may well say *enslaved:* for none are so servilely dependent (save household servants and ambitious expectantes) as they are on their Landlords. They dare not displease them lest they turn them out of their howses; or increase their rents. I believe that their Great Landlords have more comand of them than the King hath. If a Landlord be but malignant, an enemy to piety or sobriety or peace, his enslaved tenants are at his beck to serve him, in matters of any publike consequence. And of old time it was worse than it is now: when every Earle or Baron or Bishop could do much towards raising of an Army, and all their dependents would follow them. And in Scotland it was worse, and in Ireland, and in other lands where the Lorde could raise warre against their King uppon discontents, till kings were faine to take them downe, as they now are. And all this cometh from the enslaving of Husbandmen.

(10) In all this the Reader must know that I speak not the case of *all* Husbandmen, but of the Racked Poore. I doubt not but some that live about London, or that know not the common case, will say that I misreport it, and it is not so bad, and that Husbandmen live as plentifully and contentedly as others. But (1) I speake not of freeholders that pay no rent; (2) I speake not of the richer sort (who are few) that have lands of their owne, besides their farmes: there are neere London some husbandmen that have per annum 200£, 300£, 400£, yea 500£ lands of their owne, that in remote parts would

passe for gentlemen of great rank ; (3) nor do I speake of Middlesex and the parts neere it, especially neere London : for though they pay double for their grounds they have treble opportunity to improve them and to make their rents so. They have all the dung of the city, cow dung, horse dung, and cold ashes for the carriage ; and when their horse teemes bring hay or other vendibles to London to be sold, it is small trouble to carry back a load of dung which they do at ten or twelve miles distance at least. And there they make a great dung hill, of one row of the superficies of the greene earth, and another row of woodes, and another of lime, and so againe and againe, till it be neere two yards high ; and this they leave many months to rott, and then carry it to their ground. And they come neere 20 miles for waggon-loads of old rotten rags, which some make gaine by selling, —hiring abundance of poor people to take them out of dunghills. And though they give a great price for them, it so much furthereth their grasse and corne as fully recompenseth their cost and labour. And, above all, London is a market which will take up all that they bring, so that nothing vendible need to stick on their hands ; and, by garden stuffs and by pease and beans and turnips, they can make more gaine of their grounds than poore country tenants can do of ten times the same quantity. And they that live but 30 or 40 miles off, that have rich pasture grounds will never want a market at London for their Lambes and fat sheepe, and their fat cattle, and pigs and geese and whatever they can spare : when even the countreyes an hundred miles off think it worth the great cost of sending droves of swine and cattle in the London market ; yea, even from Ireland by sea and land. And Gloucestershire, Suffolke, Warwickshire, etc., send their charge to this all devouring markett. And I suppose those that live neere other great cityes—as Yorke, Norwich, Bristoll, etc.—have some good degree of the same advantage. (4) Nor do I speake of those Tenants that have some small Tenement of 5£ or 10£ per annum, and have besides a trade which does maintaine them. A Weaver or Butcher or Tailor, a Joyner, a Carpenter may afford to pay his Landlords rent which another cannot that hath nothing but the ground to live uppon. These exceptions premised, it is the ordinary case of Rackt poore tenants that have no other trade to live on, that I am speaking of.

(11) And they will not allwaies live in health ; and when

husband, wife or children fall sick, they have no money to pay a Physician or an Apothecary. If a posset, or some molossus[1] called Treacle or a little Ginger or a little aqua vitae will not do it, it must be undone; when a Physician's fees, or the Apothecary's drugs would come to one or two pounds, the poore people hath not a shilling to give. Little do the rich and Lawyers and Physicians thinke how precious a shilling is with the poore. I have known frugall freeholders of 20£ or 30£ a yeare that had much adoe to pay for physick the summe of ten shillings to save their lives in cases of danger. I was by the poore's necessity constrained to play the Physician about 6 or 7 yeares, though I never took a farthing; and I have had a good woman, in great thankfullness, offer me a groat, and bid me *please myselfe* (out of her groat)! Many a thousand lye sick and die that have not money for Physicians (nor necessary helpes); and if they left all to nature, perhaps one halfe, it would be no losse. But then in feare they run to every self-conceited Shee-physician who will, with confident ignorance, soone dispatch them.

Chap. 2. The great Importance of the Case:

Think not this a matter of small importance, as if it were but relieving a Lazarus at your doores (though Christ counteth not *that* small that will reward a cup of water). It is of publike consequence and of spirituall and everlasting concernment.

1. It is not the case of a few but of a great part of the Land (tho the full[2] that know it not will not believe it).

2. It is the case of those that the nation can least spare: it is them that all live by. You should not muzzle the oxe that treadeth out the corne; the husbandman that labours must partake of the fruites, saith the Holy Ghost by Paul. Ministers thence argue for their maintenance by tythes and contribution: and how few of them labour harder than the Husbandman that payeth them. What would London be without the Husbandman, but many hundred thousand famished corpses! And what would the Courts of Princes be! And

[1] Variant form of molasses = "the uncrystallized syrup drained from sand sugar; also, the syrup obtained from sugar in the process of refining." "Good store of Molossus or common Treacle to sweeten it"—Oxford Dictionary.

[2] The full, i.e. those with plenty.

whence would the tables of the rich be furnished with variety of dishes, and Dives fare sumptuously every day! Where would our Navyes be victualled and our Armys maintained but for the Husbandman!

3. This impoverishing of them is the impoverishing of all the rest of the land. Artificers that worke for them cannot be paid; Merchants and allmost all the London tradesmen will be impoverished because the country cannot take off their comodities. Were farmers able to buy necessaries and live decently they would be a constant market to the city tradesmen as the cityes are to them. But while they have few that buy of them but the rich, so few hands will take off little; and the tradesmen say that some Great men are so bad paymasters that they break the sellers. If the French peasants could weare cloth instead of canvas, and leather instead of wooden-shooes, the cloathiers and shoomakers might have a better trade; and merchants might have much of the fruits of husbandry to traficke with abroad if it were better encouraged at home.

4. Their poverty will debase the spirit of the Nation, as it hath done the Moscovites, the Polanders and much the French; and will worke them to Barbarisme and Bruitisme and Atheisme and malignity. It is not a few Lordly oppresseours that render a nation of base inhabitants honourable! What Landlords more potent over the people than the Polanders, Moscovites, Tartarians, and the Indian Sachems! And what Masters more absolute than the Turkes and such like! But no ingenious man can thinke of *their* countreyes but as baser in comparison of the ancient Grecians and Romans.

5. And the dishonour of the countreymen is the Dishonour of the King and Nobles. Who takes it to be any great honour to be a King of American barbarians or of Guinea or Brasile? To be a King of wise and virtuous people, of men of Learning, Godlines and Justice, is honourable indeed; but not to be a King of slaves and fooles! And it is as little honour to be the Lords and Masters of such. Is Ireland and the Scottish Highlands as honourable as England, where their Ignorance and Slavery to Priests and Lords makes their very names a reproach? O let not England so degenerate!

6. And certainly the safety of the Nation is much hazarded by the peoples barbarisme as well as their honour. The militia of a well-

constituted Kingdome should consist of men of known interest that have something of their owne to defend and not of mere mercenary slaves that, having nothing to value but their lives, will shift for their lives by flight or treachery. And they should be men of discretion that understand their owne and the kingdome's interest, and for which they are to venture their lives.

7. But the publike interest of religion and the Kingdome of Christ and the comon salvation, is farre beyond all the foresaid reasons. Poverty causeth Ignorance by depriving men of ingenious education and the means of knowledge; and Ignorance is the soile of all errors and wickednes. And knowledge, by necessary helpes, is the parent of all piety and virtue. The natural and vitall spirits, without the animal, difference not a man from a beast. A man cannot Love or seeke or use well that which he knoweth not. Wise men have skill and zeale to propagate wisdome; and Goodness is communicative and tendeth to make others good! O how greatly in honor and happynes, in the favour of God and the esteeme of men doth a wise, just, Godly nation, excell a brutish debauched irreligious land where the people do but strive to corrupt or abuse and deceive, if not also to murder one another! Was the old world drowned for nothing? and are not their names an abhorrence through the world to this day? O may never England by ignorance be made like Ireland, lest it become like them in errour first, and then in ruine! For Ignorance is the great preparatory to Popery; and so our slavery at Home prepares us for slavery to a forreine Pope. Marke whether places of more civil education and converse live and work christian-like, and honour real religion more than places of poverty and constant drudgery, as many forementioned are. If you are Christians, the kingdome and interest of Christ and the peoples soules will not be so contemptible in your eyes as to be less valued than the increase of your rents and money.

8. And surely the soules of the particular persons are precious. Christ thought so, that purchased soules. And every man thinkes so that believeth in Christ. Yea, every man that knoweth what a soule is, and what a man is. And I told you that it is the *soules* of these poore men that I plead for, as concerned in the case more than their bodyes. O pitty them that through poverty and necessity can neither read nor educate their children to read. Pitty them that know not what a

Bible is, to whom it is of no more significance than a chip. Pitty them that have not money to buy a Bible, or other suitable needful booke; and *them* that, if they have them, have scarce time to read them, and are so taken up with necessity and wearied bodyes that they read not a good book or chapter in their familyes once a week (or once a yeare) nor catechise and instruct their children and servants; nor have composednes for any meditations, or serious thoughts, of the state of their soules and everlasting life. O pitty them that, coming for custome to Church, in this ignorant alienated case, understand not what the preacher saith but lose the fruit of all his labour. And what a case then are those of them in, that live under a curate or Priest as senseless of such matters as themselves! Shall we pitty Americans and Infidels and Tartarians and Turks, and pray for their conversion; and shall we not pitty such ignorant ones among ourselves, in a land of light? The negroes in Barbadoes and Jamaica live in the same country as the English and not in Guiney.[1] But what the better are they while they are by slavery kept in ignorance? I confesse your usage of your poor tenants somewhat differeth from that of the Negro slaves. But I would it were yet more different than it is. I write not this to justifie or excuse the ungodliness of the poore: I confesse it is unspeakable. For the harder it goeth with them in this world the lesse they should love it; and the more they should desire a better, and labour the more to make sure of a heavenly glory when they die. They should strive the more against the weaknes of the flesh, and troubling discontente and hurtfull cares; and they should take those precious houres which they have, and especially improve the Lord's Day, when they are vacant from their Labours. Some few that are poore, whose hearts God softeneth, can set their minds on spirituall and everlasting things. Yea, some few that cannot read get others to read to them, and get a good measure of saving knowledge. But this is so rare, and their case so difficult, that I would entreate all Gentlemen so much to pitty soules as not to plunge them into such temptations and dangers as few do escape.

9. And truly Gentlemen it is your owne concerne as well as theirs:—

(*a*) You will have more of the losse and suffering if you cause it,

[1] I.e. Guinea.

than the poore. It is a torment to an awakened conscience to have done hurt; and a great pleasure to have done good. Seneca can tell you that *magna peccati poena est pecasse, et magnum beneficii præmium est benefecisse.* You may get a thousand times more by charitable distributions than the poore men get by it to whom you give it. And you will lose more by withholding it than they will lose.

(*b*) And it is the pleasure of ingenuous loving men to love and to be loved. They imitate the Devil that care not for Love, so they be but feared; and may, as irresistible tyrants, fulfill their proud malicious wills by doing hurt. We love our dogs because they are loving creatures, but poysonous, ravening and cruel animals are hated of all, as made for destruction. How universally is a kind and mercifull Landlord honoured and beloved of all! With what pleasure do I heare the poore people praise and magnifie some such! O that they were more! To have the feare and the labours of a slave is but like driving a cart or coach of horses; but to have the heart of a Christian is that which God himself regardeth: God saith, *My Son Give me* thy heart. The Devil saith, *serve and feare me lest I torment thee* (yea, *that I may torment thee*). Which will you imitate? The Christian spirit of Adoption is all for Love. The malignant spirit is for pride, wrath and hurtfulness. He is scarce a man or sociable wight, that had not rather Love and be loved than domineer and be hated. How glad is the Country when they heare of such an one dead or cast down with shame; I need not name instances in this and former ages. A good name is a precious ointment, though proude hypocrites seeke it for wrong ends: it makes a man capable of being a publike good. A good Landlord hath the comand of peoples' votes and cheerful services, when others will goe no further than they are driven by rod and spurre. And how good and pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in Unity! when Head and Heart and Hand and Feet do all agree in health and service.

(*c*) And do you not know how much of your account at the day of your Judgment will lie on your usage of the poore and your mercifull or unmercifull dealing with them? You cannot but know if you reade the Scriptures. If you believe them not, why would you be called Christians? And do you believe them only in your condemnation, and as the Devils that *believe and tremble?* Do you not know

that God is the only absolute Proprietor; and that the greatest of men have no other propriety than that of stewards or servants, who are trusted with that which is their Masters, to be used according to his will. And how neere is the day when you must heare: *Give account of thy stewardship; thou shalt be no longer steward.* And bethink you what account will be most comfortable to you? Read not this with contempt or a senseless heart. It concernes you more neerly than your Lordships, Lands or Lives. Live as you would be judged.

10. And you have no hope in Christ, if you are not Christians; and you are no Christians if you believe not Christ; and if you believe Christ or Moses and the Prophets, consider of these texts which I shall transcribe for you. But the whole Bible is so full, so plaine, so urgent for Love, compassion, mercy, kindness and charity and good works, and against uncharitableness, tyranny, cruelty, covetousness, oppression, that I will anon in a distinct chapter recite some texts to you, which, if they convince you not, you are blind and obdurate; and which, if you *are* convinced and yet will not be converted and reformed, will condemn you. Though I cite them not to condemne you: as Christ said, I came not into the world to condemne the world, when yet he foreknew and foretold how many would eventually be condemned by him.

Chap. 3. The Causes of this Comon Evill.

1. Alas, the causes are so notorious that a few words may serve to make them knowne. But no words alone will serve to cure it.

2. No doubt but the poore themselves are the chief causes of their owne calamity. Did not their sin provoke God to afflict them, he would have saved them from oppression. Alas! if conscience be awake within them they may find enough to condemne themselves for, more than any others; and to make them cry to God for pardon, more than to accuse the rich. When Cham abused his father, his curse is, *A Servant of Servants shalt thou be.* You may see through all the book of Judges and Kings and Chronicles that when the Israelites sinned against God and did wickedly, he gave (them)

up into the hand of such as did oppress them. And when they repented and cried to him, he delivered them.[1]

3. But this is no excuse to the oppressours. The causes on their part are many and obvious (1) they foolishly so overvalue their Birth and Riches, as if these made them more than men; and Pride setteth them so high in their owne conceite that they look downe on the poore with disregard: as a man in a high mountaine that seeth all below him like little things. They scarcely take the poore for Brethren, no, nor for their neighbours; as if their flesh were not corruptible, and their sowles by sin as miserable as the poore's. (2) The Love of money the root of all evill, so blindeth and hardeneth them that they can scarce feel any evill in anything that tendeth to increase their wealth. Let them have never so much, they would have more, *Crescit amor mummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.* As Nathan told David in his Parable, *The man who had flockes of his owne must take the poore man's lamb.* (3) And the Devil, the great Tyrant, that ruleth in the children of disobedience, makes them like himselfe that is pleased with cruelty. When he hath first hardened them against Love and compassion, he next makes them like angry and malicious men that are restlesse till they do hurt. It seemed a great pleasure to a Tiberius, a Nero, a Domitian, etc., to kill men, as it hath done to many persecutors to torment men and to heare them roare. Who would think that the Holy Inquisition should by all their learning and pretence of Religion be hardened the more to torment men with Racks and Strappados?[2] And so many sorts of horrid cruelty, as if they studyed to imitate Hell? That they can sit in a dark cellar in their grave habits like an infernall consistory, to heare the tormented cry and roare, and get their limbs disjointed; and direct the executioners how to renew and increase the torment? When the great Princes of the world can glory in the shambles of persecution and bloody warres; and triumph when by a victory they have murdered

[1] This seems to be the doctrine of Job's friends that a man's sufferings are somehow a sure sign and measure of his sin. It was common enough in Baxter's day, if not still.

[2] "A form of punishment or of torture to extort confession in which the victim's hands were tied across his back and secured to a pulley: he was then hoisted from the ground and let down with a jerk." Also = "the instruments used."—*O.D.*

thousands, as if it were the more the better, what wonder if oure little landlord tyrants have small compassion on the poore whom they oppress ! He that seeth in France, in Flanders, in Germany, in Savoy, in Hungary—in Armies and Navies, by land and seas, what a serpentine diabolical disposition is got into humane nature, need not wonder to find some of it here in England. And the Church hath felt that pretense of zeale for learning and church government is no sufficient cure of it : and that Pharisees can use long prayers for a pretense to devoure and ruine those that are better than themselves, and that in some countreys where mischief is established by a Law, the just have sometimes as unjust usage as where armies lie, where *vivitur ex raptu, nec hospes ab hospite tutus.*

4. And the great cause of oppression is the sensuality and fleshly lusts of the oppressours. Lust needeth so much that all that they can extort is little enough to feed it. They must be cloathed and fare like Dives sumptuously : with so many dishes and such variety and curiosity, with such variety of pleasant liquors, and with musike and pompe and so great attendance, in dwellings of so costly furniture, and with the entertainment of so many meerly in pride, for the reputation of greatnes and great housekeeping—that it is no wonder that the wearyed bodies and carefull[1] hearts of their poore tenants do pay deare for all. Ah, miserable fools ! that thinke this worse than beastly life so desirable as, for it, to enslave reason ; to debase human nature ; to damne their sowles ; and to keepe multitudes of their poore brethren in misery to make provision for their lusts.

5. And the atheistical misconceit of their property hardeneth them. They thinke they may please themselves with their owne as they list. As if they knew not that there is no absolute propriety but God's. Only He that made and maintaineth all is the absolute Owner of all, or anything. No man hath any other propriety than that of a Trusted Servant, or Steward, or a child in minority who is at his father's will. You have a sub-propriety which, *in foro humano*, may be pleaded against all that would dispossess you. And so a servant has to that which is committed to his trust. We are no Levellers. He is a thiefe that taketh away that which is yours without

[1] I.e., anxions.

your forfeiture or consent. But you shall answer for all, even the uttermost farthing to him that entrusted you. He did not give you your great estates to serve the Devil with them in serving your fleshly lusts and pampering a greedy appetite, or maintaining odious pride, when you have cause to be humbled in the dust for your manifold sins, and in remembrance of the dust to which, after its rotteness, your body must returne. You look that your stewards and other servants do keepe and give up a just account to you of all your revenues of which they are the receivers, and of all their disbursements for your use. If you care what becomes of your sowles for ever, cast up and keepe the account of your stewardship towards God. For you shall certainly be called to a reckoning ere long. Compare the proportion which you allow the poore, and other necessary and pious uses, with that which you have allowed for flesh-pleasing and power and vaine reputation. Know that all that is thus abused is stolen from God, in your robbing those of it that he obliged you to give it to.

6. And when worldlings can enjoy no more for themselves, their last self-deceit is to thinke that, whatever it cost their poore tenants, they must leave their *children* as great and dangerous a temptation of riches as they were undone by themselves. They thinke they deale not as Parents with their children unless they crosse all the doctrine of Christ, and make their way to heaven impossible to any but God, and their Salvation to be as a Camel going through the Eye of a Needle. Doubtlesse, such show that they are Christians but in Jest. And as they give Christ but a name, they must looke for no more from him. It is themselves and not him that they deceive. They have greater things than great worldly estates and temptations to take care for both for their children and themselves. I know that they must provide for them, and THAT according to their quality and need. But nothing is due to their posterity that is withheld, or extorted by oppression, from the poore, or from any pious or charitable use that God doth call them to lay it out on.

Chap. 4. The Remedies of the poore Husbandman's case proposed to Rich Landholders.

1. I am not, after so long experience, so ignorant of the pravity of corrupted nature as to expect any universall or generall successe of

anything that I, or any wiser man, can say. The Great Dog will not be moved by argument or Oratory to give up his bone or carrion, nor to let the little dogs partake with him. But there are some, that really believe the Gospell, that are not sufficiently convinced of their duty and sin, in the present case, whom I may write to with some hope; and there are some men, whose natures are not so desperately debauched and hardened as others to whom we may speake without despaire, who when they heare *Thus saith the Lord* or *thus saith Jesus Xt* will regard it. And, Gentlemen (mistake me not) the sume of my request to you is but this *that you will regard the publike welfare of the nation above any few particular cases, and the interest of Christian Religion in the soules of men above all youre worldly interest of fleshly pleasure, and that you will on such accounts lett youre lands to the poorer sort of youre tenants at such rates as by their labor and frugality they may comfortably live on, so as not to be necessitated by care for their rents and by tiresome excesse of labour, to be strangers to God's word, and to forbeare family religion and to be prayerlesse or sleepe when they should pray, and to live in ignorance for want of good bookes* or time to read them, and thinke of what they heare at church; and that poverty constreine them not to educate their children like themselves. This (is) all that I have now to request of you.

In order to this, I thinke it would be a blessed example to the nation, if to such poore tenants you would abate a third part of your Rack rents. [Some Great ones that know where I was borne, may know what I instance in.[1]] When most tenants fifty yeares agoe sate on the old rents, perhaps some *one* Landlord set his land on the Rack rent from yeare to yeare, and was hardly spoken of for it by all the country. If another come and buy his land and then raise it higher and set that at 50£ or 60£ which *he* set at 40£, and that at 40£ which *he* set at 30£, and that at 4£ which *he* set at 2£ or 3£, may I not justly petition that the poore people may have the clemency of their former rack which they called *Cruelty?* This is no rare case. Few scruple raising rents to as much as they can get, when poore men, rather than beg and have no dwelling, will promise more than they can pay; and then, with care and toile, make shift as long as they

[1] Crossed through in the MS.

can ; and then run away and do so in another countrey, i.e. county. And so the Gentlemen lose more by their Racking than they get, whereas if they would abate a third part, and let their tenants live a comfortable life, they might have their rents constantly paid, and have the people's love, and partake of the comforts of those that are benefitted or comforted by them.

3. To this end I humbly intreate you, Gentlemen, to retrench youre needlesse and sinfull charges for superfluities, prodigality and fleshly lust—that you may not need so much to feed your sin as will not leave you enough to discharge youre duty to God and to the poore. Cannot you live as healthily and decently with fewer dishes, and less variety, and less cost and curiosity, and less ostentation, attendance and pompe ? Do not youre Tables and youre Furniture speake unbeliefe and contempt of Christ ? While in Luke 16 and throughout the Gospell he so terribly describeth you. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and such great man of old that had hundreds of servants and thousands of cattle and sheepe yet used not to eate flesh but at a feast, or a sacrifice, or the entertainment of some extraordinary friend. Bread and water and milke and honey and butter and figs were their ordinary food. Ordinary eating of flesh and drinking of wine was called *royotous*. Though God allow us to take away the lives of our fellow creatures and to eate their flesh, to shew what sin hath brought on the world and what we deserve ourselves, and how we are obliged to resigne our owne lives to the will of God, yet hath he put into all good men that tender compassion to the bruites as will keep them from a senseless royoting in their blood. I am convinced that to eate flesh is lawfull, and yet all my daies it hath gone, as against my nature, with some regret ; which hath made me the more contented that God hath made me long renounce it through the necessity of nature, in my decrepite age.

Read but the Great Physicians that write of health, long life and dyet, and you see how comonly they agree that fullness and variety, hindering perfect concoction and causing excrementions crudities, is the cause of most diseases, and the ordinary brevity of mans life ; and that Temperance, and due abstinence, a simple easy and slender dyet, for quality and quantity, causeth a perfect digestion, purity of blood, and all the nutritious juices, health of body, cheerfullnes of mind, fittness for study and busynes and devotion, and a long life, and an

easy death. For one I referre you to *Claudius Deodatus*[1] in his Hygiasticon, Lib. i.; or, if you understand not Latine, reade my quondam physician Dr. Venner,[2] his *via recta ad vitam longam*. But what need you more than painfull experience? Who have most of the Stone and Strangury and gowte and dropsies and other such diseases that make life miserable and short? Is it the abstemious and temperate and laborious? Or the rich and idle that live in fullness and dilicious variety? Perhaps you will object the seeming crosse-instances of such as myselfe. But if a man in youthfull folly contract infirmity by pleasing his appetite, and his after abstinence helpe him for sixty yeares to beare the diseases that his folly caused, you must not impute his diseases to his abstinence, which was his remedy. How many may you read of in physicions that have been cured of sore diseases by temperance! I need not send you to Lessius,[3] Cornario,[4] or Sir W. Vaughan.[5] I tried their measure fifty yeares agoe and I find it now too longe by more than halfe (and to the quality tenfold too large, about flesh meates). Many German Physicians tell you of a rich man that, having long had a painful gowt, fell into so great poverty by losses that he was forced to a poore dyet, and to carry a pedlar's pack about the countrey to get his living, and he was cured of his gowt. Felix Platonis[6] tells you of one that was sickly from his childhood, and after marriage grew much worse, and specially with the gowt: and he resolutely forbore wines, and used a slender dyet, and

[1] The full title was:—Pantheum hygiasticum Hippocratico—Hermeticum, de hominis vita ad centum et viginti annos salubrite producenda, libris tribus distinctum etc.—*Bruntrati* 1628, 4°.

[2] Tobias Venner (1577-1660). His first book—"Via Recta ad Vitam, longam; or A Plaine Philosophicall Discourse of the Nature, Faculties and Effects of all such things as by way of nourishments and Dieteticall Observations made for the Preservation of Health . . . with the true use of our Bathes of Bath"—was published in 1620. He preached and died at Bath; and it was to him that Baxter resorted from the siege of Bristol (Sept., 1646) when he fell suddenly ill (*R.B.* i. 55). See *D.N.B.*

[3] Less(ius) Leonhard, Jesuit moralist (1554-1623). In 1613 his "Hygiasticon seu vera ratio valetudinis bonae et vitae . . . ad Extremam senectutem coservandae" was published at Antwerp.

[4] Janus Cornarius (1500-1558) German physician.

[5] William Vaughan (1577-1641) poet and colonial pioneer—of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire. From childhood he was devoted to the study of medicine and wrote on the subject, though never a physician. (See *D.N.B.*)

[6] Felix Platonis? (1536-1614) M.D. of Basle.

dranke only Leram (its called Bunnell[1] in our countrey) which is made of mellow crabs and bulles or crab-plums and some Barberries, put into a vessel of spring water, so much as may give it a pleasant sharpness and austerity, which he greatly delighted in, and lived in health to about eighty years of age, though he fed on cabbage, Turnips and such coarse meat. Another he mentions that, at a great age, was cured of the gowt, only with Temperance and the constant use of Belony—infusion, decoction, powder, conserve—in all his meate and drinke. Such instances are comon. And is paine, sicknes, and death worth the buying at the rate that your gluttony and voluptuousness costeth you and others?

4. And I humbly motion that Gentlemen would not be strangers to their poore tenants; but sometimes go to their howses and see how it goeth with them, and how they live. When I was a child I have heard a poore man praise a neighbour Knight[2] with as much honour as if he had been a Prince, because he would come to a poore man's house and talke familiarly with them, and looke into their pot and cupboard and see how they fared; but a proud disdainfull person none loveth. Did you see their manner of food and labour, and their wants it would move you more than hearing will do. Strangeness causeth ignorance and neglect.

5. And when you visit them or speake civilly to them, ask them, *Do you pray in youre family, Do you read God's word and good bookes, especially on the Lord's daye. Do youre children learne to read. Do you teach them the Catechisme, and how to pray. Do you keepe them from lying and swearing and cursing and railing.*

If they say noe to any of these enquire the reason of it. Do not say this is only the Parson's work. It is his and it is yours. They will heare you with more regard than most such will heare the Pastor. O what a blessed example were this, for a Lord or Knight to set the Gentry of his Country! and what good might such men's wealth and greatness do, which are comonly used to their owne and others hurt. And what a blessed land would England be, if Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen would duely obey and worship God in their owne families as well as in the Churches and urge their tenants to do the like.

[1] Bunnell = "a beverage made from the crushed apples or pears, after nearly all the juice has been expressed for the cider or perry."

[2] Sir Richard Newport, of High Ercall?

6. Those that have not a Bible or good book in their houses, buy and give them one. I told you in the preface[1] to my *Poore Mans Family Booke* that one or two bookes to every poore tenant is but abating them so much of their Rent, extraordinary, or abating one dish of meat from your tables—what if I said one gaudy lace or toy from the woemens coates or heads? And it need be but once to one house while they live: for a booke may so long endure.

7. Enquire whether their children be sent to schoole to learne to read. And if not, or there be none thereabout to teach them, a little money may hire an honest poore man or woaman to set up a reading schoole. At least, pay for those childrens' learning whose parents cañot pay for them. There dwelleth in London a man that liveth by selling rags and glasse bottles, that, besides finding worke for abundance of the poore, payeth for the teaching of about thirty poore children; though he had not five shillings to set up, and his neerest friends trouble him with the accusations of imprudent exercise of charity. And he saith that God tells him of his acceptance. For the more he giveth the more he thriveth: which made that blessed example of charity, my deare friend Mr. *Th. Gouge*,[2] to write a book for charity entitled *The way to grow rich*. There be men that have many thousand pounds per annum that dwell neer the poore glasse men that do no such work and do not increase their wealth. I will instance but in one man, my deceased friend Mr. Thomas Foley,[3] the son of Mr. Richard Foley, my first Patron; who began with but 500£ stock, given him by his father; and was allwaies liberall to the poore, and managed all his busynes with multitudes, with ease and chearfullnes; and hath setled an Hospitall with a Govenour to teach children to read and write and fit them for trades, and then bind them apprentices; and setled, in land, 500£ a yeare to maintaine it. And God so prospered him that his three sons, now all

[1] "If every landlord would give one to every poor Tenant that he hath, once in his life, out of one year's rent, it would be no great charge in comparison of the benefit which may be hoped for, and in comparison of what prodigality consumeth. The price of one ordinary dish of meat will buy a Book: and to abate for every Tenant, but one dish in your lives, is no great self-denial." "A Request to the Rich" (Preface to the said Book). 26 Aug., 1672.

[2] (1609-1681) see *R.B.*, iii. 17, 94, 147, 148, 190 and *D.N.B.*

[3] (1617-1677) see *R.B.*, i., 13; iii., 71, 93 and *D.N.B.*

Parliament men, are judged worth 15000£ a year between them whom I do hopefully request to use it as charitably as their father did, who lived neither sordidly nor luxuriously nor profusely, as those great men that thinke their pompous grandeur worthy of more than he gave to the poore.

8. And I humbly advise all Parish Ministers, whose office obligeth them to know and visit the poore, that (besides their owne charity) they will acquaint the rich Landlords with their poore tenants' cases, and move them to compassion. I doubt not but all pious and charitable Gentlemen will take it well, and thank them.

9. And I humbly intreate all Lawyers and Physicians that they will spare the poore in their fees and charges. Alas! a shilling is to them more precious than twice its weight of their blood. Had not approaching death and modesty forbidden me, I had (though no physician) published a Directory for every ingenuous Minister to become the parish physician for the poore (when they have not better), without leaving them to ignorant women, or to be helplesse; and without going themselves beyond the bounds of their knowledge; and without putting them unto any cost to the Apothecary for loathsome compositions.

10. One thing more for the poore I intreate of Ministers and Landlords—that they will keep them from Lawsuites by composing all differences that arise among them; and by persuading them to a just reference and arbitration, and by discountenancing the contentious and revengefull refusers. O if we had hopes that piety and humanity and the English honour would be so farre repaired by such reasonable meanes as these, as that the nation may not by poverty and slavery be debased, and degenerate to impiety and barbarisme, and poore mens' houses may not be strangers to God's Word and worship nor the labours of ministers frustrated by the incapacity of their hearers!

11. I have yet one helpe more to motion, that *Rich men will often read what all God's word saith of their duty to the poore.* Surely the passages of this kind are so many, so urgent and so plaine that, without downright unbeliefe and contempt of Christ, and of God's Law or without great stupidity, they cannot be so neglected as by most they are, were they but seriously considered: so earnest are the comands, so great the promises, to charity and so terrible the threatenings to the oppressour and unmercifull that they must needes

move a considerate believer to thinke money laid out on the poore to be better used than that which is sacrificed to Bacchus and Venus—as a sacrifice to pride and flesh pleasing, and—as *Clemens Alexandrinus*[1] calls it—the Throat-madnes and the Belly Devil.

Chap. 5. Some pertinent Texts recited to this use.[2]

Who can prevaile if God's authority cannot? and what can we think will move men if not the Lord which they confesse should rule them and will judge them?

How severely did God revenge the oppression of the Israelites on Pharoah and the Egyptians by his Plagues and the Red Sea:

Texts quoted are:—

Exodus, i., 11, 13, 14; ii., 23-24; iii., 7-8; xxii., 23-24, 25-26; xxxiii., 11.

Leviticus, xix., 9, 13, 18; xxx., 35-36.

Deut., xv., 7 (—11), 12 (—14).

1 Samuel, xii., 3.

Nehemiah, v., 11-13, 18.

Job, xxix., 12 (13, 15, 16, 17); xxxi., 16 (—22, 24, 25, 38).

Psalms, xii., 5; xli, 1 (—3); lxxii., 4, 12; cxii., 9.

Proverbs, xiv., 21, 31; xxi., 13; xxii., 9, 16, 22, 23; xxviii., 15; xxix., 7, 12, 14; xxxi., 9: xxviii., 27.

Eccles., v., 8.

Isaiah, i., 16 ff., 23, 24; iii., 14, 15; lviii., 6, 7 (Read the whole chapter).

Ezekiel, xvi., 49, 50; xviii., 5 (—9).

Amos, iv., 1 (2).

Isaiah, lx., 17.

Ezekiel, xlv., 9.

Matthew, v., 5, 7, 16, 42; vi., 19, 20, 33, 34; vii., 12, 19; xiii., 44, 45; xviii., 5-7, 14, 8, 9, 10, 32; xix., 21, 22; xx., 26; xxii., 36, 37, 38; xxvi., 11; xxv., 31, 41.

Luke, xii., 20, 21; xvi., 9, 13, 14, 20. (Read all that of Dives and Lazarus); xix., 8. Read the Parable of the Wounded Man, the Prieste, Levite and Samaritan (Luke x. 25-31).

John, xiii., 4, 35, 36; xxi., 15.

[1] (b. *circa* A.D. 150.)

[2] A striking feature of the "de excidio" is the catena of texts extending more or less through chapters 37 to 105. Gildas calls them the words of the Holy Prophets (Sancti Vates) and cites indifferently from the Apocryphal or Canonical books. Baxter keeps strictly to the canonical. Space forbids the quotations *in extenso*.

Acts, iv., x., 2.
Romans, ii., 6; xii., 5; xiii., 9, 10, 14.
1 Corinthians, vi., 7, 8, 9; ix., 8, 9; xii., 12, 13; xiii.
2 Corinthians, ix., 6, 7.
Galatians, vi., 2, 6, 7, 8.
Ephesians, iv., 32.
Philippians, iv., 17.
Colossians, iii., 14.
1 Thessalonians, iv., 9.
1 Timothy, vi., 17.
Titus, iii., 5.
Hebrews, xiii., 1, 2, 3, 16.
James, i., 27 (Read all James ii., especially 6, 13); iii., 17; iv., 1.
1 Peter, i., 22; iii., 8.
1 John, ii., 15, 16; iii., 14, 27, 23; iv., 7; iii., 7.
Revelation, ii.; iii.; xx.; xxii., 12, 14.

Qu.—*Why need you transcribe so much of the bible? Do you thinke we never read or heard all this before?*

Ans.—I suppose you have. If you practise it, I have my end. If not, I do it to try whether the fullest proofe from the Scripture Authority of God, will prevaile with you. If it will not, what can all my reasonings do? If you can be unmercifull and rigorous exactors from the poore after all this—if Lazarus were sent to you when you are at your pompous entertainments and cherishing your fleshly appetites to tell you what Dives suffereth that you come not to the place of torment you would not be persuaded. But all these words of God your Judge shall be witnesses against you.

Chap. 6. Objections Answered.

We must not hope to prevaile with men for so great a good and against so much of their fleshly and worldly reason and delight, without much contradiction. As God governeth men as rationall and therefore convinceth their Reason of their Duty, so Satan tempteth men as Rationall, and by perverting his Reason by deceit. There is no duty so great that men refuse, nor any sin so great which they live in, but they will give a *Reason* for it. They will not disobey God himself, nor his plainest word, nor resist Christ, nor damme themselves, without Reason. Yea, I look to be derided by Rich men for this which God so vehemently comandeth; and Heathens by the light of nature know.

Obj. 1.—We rob no man; we defraud no man; we require nothing but our owne, which we may use as our case requireth.

Ans. (1) The Priest and the Levite that past by the wounded man tooke nothing from him; and Dives (Luke 16) tooke nothing from Lazarus. The damned servant that hid his talent tooke it not from his Master. But he was cast into outer darkness.

(2) I again tell you, though it be your owne against the claime of men, *in foro humano*, nothing is your owne against God's claime. All is His and its yours but as God's stewards; and you must do with it *what He will;* and must labour to know his will, that you may do it. You may not use one penny but according to his will.

Obj. 2.—We expend no more than we have reason for. Lords and Knights must not live like their poore tenants. He that hath divers thousand pound per annum hath as much necessary use for it as poore men have for their little.

Ans. (1) I speak not for levelling or equality; nor against your truly necessary or just expenses. They that are intrusted with publike employment must defray the charges of it, and maintaine servants to perform it; and they that have great estates must keepe servants to looke after them; and they that, not for Pride (but) for publike service must by entertaining their Rich neighbours keepe up the interest of their reputation, may be for it at so much charge as no greater good or antecedent necessary duty doth forestall. But God alloweth you to spend nothing on a Lesser good, which a greater duty requires: *Greater*, I say, to you and such as you are obliged to. Be not, therefore, self-deceivers. Bethink you whether expending so many hundred or 1000 a yeare in costly buildings, furniture, bravery, attendance, useless—yea, hurtfull—variety and fullness, and entertaining luxurious persons, be a greater duty than relieving and easing the burdened poore. A temperate frugall man can live perhaps at halfe the rate that you do, in better reputation with all sober wise men. He that glutteth his flesh and serveth his pride and fancie with as much as they desire, is no true servant of God, though he should give to church and poore, many 1000£, being but the leavings of his lust and sin. How much worse then is he that giveth nothing to Lazarus but his scraps! God will not be served acceptably with that which costeth your flesh nothing. Make not a seeming necessity to yourselves. When Martha preferred providing for Christ himselfe before the present

hearing of his word, he reproveth her with—*Thou art troubled about many things but one thing is needfull. Mary hath chosen the good part which shall not be taken from her.* And are your guests better than Christ? or can you better pretend necessity than Martha? How rashly do you differ in judgment from him that you call your Lord and Saviour! He saith, when thou makest a feast call not the Rich etc.; *but call the poore* etc. that cannot recompense you. How little of your great estates do you expend in *such* feasting, or in answerable reliefe of them?

(2) For one that in his Baptisme renounced the Devill, the world and the flesh to make the serving of that which he, by his vow of Christianity, renounced his justified pretense against the serving of Christ with his owne, is the most impudent self-condemning plea that you could use. The condemned slothful servant had more modesty than to say, *Lord my throat and belly to my pride had so much need of thy talent that I could not spare it for the use that thou requiredst.*

(3) St. Augustine's name is justly honoured by many of you; and his conscience was much wrought upon by those words Rom. 13, *Not in Gluttony and drunkennes, not in chambering and wantonnes, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ and make no provision for the flesh to fulfill the lust* (*or will*) *thereof.*

Obj.—But all cannot be saints?

Ans.—Therefore all shall not be saved: for heaven is a place for none but saints. Without Holines none shall see God—Heb. 12, 24.

Obj. 3.—God giveth us his creatures for Delight and not only for Necessity.

Ans. (1) He alloweth you no delight but that which tendeth to fit you for his service by refreshing your body and spirits, and tendeth to make Him your chief delight from whom they come and to whom they tend. It is the great marke of wickedness to be *Lovers of pleasure more than Lovers of God.*

(2) I speak not against the usefull Delight in lawfull things, which is but as whetting to the mower's scithe, that you may work the better. I am not calling you all into Monasteries or Hermitages. But hath God and his service your *chiefe* delight? Do you more

pleasedly read God's word and pray in your families and teach them to relieve the poore than satisfye an inordinate desire of the flesh, or make ostentation of your grandure ? O miserable self-condemning hypocrites that live to their Lust with graceless hearts and prayerlesse families, and do God no serious service all the day, but spend part of it in feasting and the rest in idle visits or sports, and then say, *Delight is lawfull for them*, while they do nothing of that which lawfull recreation should fit them for ! As if the mower should do nothing but *whett*, and lie down, and say, *whetting* is lawfull ! When these men are so farre from delighting in God, and in doing good that they take it for a melancholy unpleasant toile.

Obj. 4.—" *You that live in Townes and on your Dunghils are unfitt judges of our condition. Every self-conceited zealot will presume to talke of that which he understandeth not* and to tell Lords and Knights how they must live and use their Estates."

Ans.—Hath not Christ himselfe told you more closely than we do ? If you take this for self-conceitednes or sauceynes, what would you have said to Christ if you had heard him say what is recorded in the Gospel ? If easing your burdened oppressed tenants seems so hard to you what would you have said if he had tryed you as he did a rich man with a *Goe and sell all that thou hast and follow me, and thou shalt have a treasure in heaven ? I doubt you would* (*have*) *gone away scorningly* rather than *sorrowfully*. As the Pharisees that, being covetous derided him, so, you think that this doctrine savours of the Levellers or Quakers. What would you have done if you had lived when the Spirit of Love made all the Christians sell all that they had and live in comon ? Though that was but for one place and time—when they were, however, to be driven from their estates—yet sincere Charity that Loveth another as ourselves is necessary in all times and places.

Do not youre preachers that you heare in publike and youre Chaplains, unless they be worldly flatterers, preach this same doctrine to you, tell you what a damning sin Luxury, Sensuality, Oppression and uncharitablenes is, and that if you turne away your eyes and eares from the poore, God will turne away his eare from you in the houre of your distresse ? And do you take such preaching for presumptuous medling with your estates ? Gentlemen, you are as

a city built on a hill that cannot be hid. If you be ungodly and licentious the world will know it. Hypocrisie may be hid, but so cannot open Luxuriousnes and Oppression. If such as I know you not, I hope it is no fault to desire that you may know yourselves. If you are men of godlynes and mercyfullnes, and your familyes and poore tenants find it, our admonitions will but help your consciences to comfort you. Piety and Charity are with great men so rare as that the preciousnes of them inclineth all people to praise and honour such. If you can prove that the Gospell of Christ doth justifie you, fear not men's censuring you. And though within a few generations youre good and bad deeds will be forgotten on earth, they will be remembered to you and by you for ever. And a *hic jacet* notifying what earth was made of your deare-fed flesh, will not so level your souls with the faithfull.

Obj. 5.—Do you thinke we give not to the poore because we proclaim it not to you : or, that we cannot better know fit objects than you ? Must *you* tell us to whom we must give ?

Ans. (1) We may and must tell you in generall though we name not the particulars, till they name themselves by visible need. Christ hath told you, and it is our office to proclaim what He commandeth.

(2) If your poore Tenents feel it, and if your consciences witnesse it, that you bestow more on the needy than on your sensuality, we are satisfied.

Obj. 6.—" Every man is neerest himselfe. Charity begins at home. Others shall have what I can spare. Every man for himselfe and God for us all."

Ans. (1) God will be a Saviour to none that is not more for the comon good and the pleasing of God than for himselfe. He is no true disciple of Christ that denyeth not himselfe in obedience to him. Begin at home but do *begin* there and not goe further !

(2) O that you would be kind and liberall, or at least not cruel, to yourselves ! It is most to yourselves that we persuade you to be mercifull. David saith (Psal. 16), " My goodnes extendeth not to Thee " : God needeth not nor will be beholden to you. If it be not more for (your) owne gaine than for the poore's ; and your oppression will not hurt yourselves more than them, the Gospell is not to be believed. But if it be so, O have some pitty on your

owne soules and sell not as prophane your birthright for a morsell: your everlasting happines for beastly sensuality and pride.

Obj. 7.—"The poore live as well on their course fare and labours as we do on our plenty. Their food is as sweet to them and their rest as pleasant: their condition is as suitable to them as ours is to us."

Ans. (1) And perhaps much more, as I said before. No thanks to you. Lazarus may have more inward peace at your gates, while the dogs are licking his sores, than you in your jollity. But if you afflict them, God's comforting them will not excuse you.

(2) But it is not those that have a comfortable competency, though with labour and course fare, that I am pleading for. It is not that *they* may live in fleshpleasing fulnes as you doe. But for those whose poverty, care and labour is such an impediment to their religious knowledge and practice, their worship of God and the education of their children as they cannot overcome. It is more for their soules' and the Nation's than their flesh that I plead.

Obj. 8.—"We have children to provide for that must have portions answerable to their birth and quality; and whence should we have it but out of our tenants and estates?"

Ans.—You meane that they must be left as Rich as you are, or as you can make them. For whatever men be—though they be *novi homines*, suddenly risen from a low estate, the parents looke their children should be enricht accordingly. But (1) Give your children nothing but *your owne*. That is none of your owne which God hath obliged you otherwise to give or use. When Zaccheus said, *Halfe of my goods I give to the poore*, was he bound to give that halfe to his children? Will you rob Peter to cloath Paul? Will you oppresse the poore to enrich your children? Your children may feare God's curse on such riches.

(2) O that you know how small a kindness it is to your children to be made rich beyond a competency! And to have so strong temptations to flesh-pleasing, idlenes and pride as a full table and provision for carnall delights do usually prove! And, as I said before, to have their salvation as difficult as Christ hath told such! What were the sins of cursed Sodome: Ezekiel 16? *Pride, idlenes, fullnes of bread, and not being mercifull to the poore.* Gentlemen, I beseech you, soe that, seeing this is God's own discription of them, you

would not Sodome on your own doores. (And I would unclean lust were not added with yours.) If you do, the destroying Angell in due time, will read it, and will not passe by you unrevenged. Do you think if Lazarus had bin sent to the five brethren of damned Dives, that they would have believed him, or have left their sensual life? or, would they not have taken him for a deceiving spirit that by a *Scandalum magnatum* said their brother was in hell? or, would they not reason for the flesh as you now do?

(3) But I confesse that you ought to take care of your posterity; and if you have a son that is so pious and wise as to be like to use his riches for the publike good, I wish you would leave him the more as God's steward not so much for his own sake as for many others. But not so as to forbeare your owne part, which may further your owne account. And how sad a case is it for men that have wicked children, to study to make them rich and great to serve the Devill with the greater advantage!

Obj. 9.—"We are kept under by Taxes and publike contributions to the King and for the warres. The maine weight lyeth on the Landlords. We have voluntarily in Parliament taken it on ourselves. And would you also deprive us of our Rents?"

Ans. (1) Who should pay money but those that have it? and who should pay dearer for the publike safety than they that have most to loose? We are so farre from grudging at just taxes that we would have them reach to all that are able. But proportionably, according to the difference of other mens ability and yours. He is unworthy of a part in the comon peace that will not by purse and labour contribute to it. But remember Christ's decision: the poore widow that offered her two mites gave more than the greater sums of the rich that gave but out of their abundance. If a poore tenant give a shilling, perhaps he giveth all. If one that hath 4000£ per annnm give 1000£ or 2000£ in taxes, he hath 2000£ or 3000£ still left; and he is scarce worthy the name of a man that cannot contentedly live on so much. A farmer that payeth you 50£ a yeare rent, would thinke him unreasonable that cannot live thankfully on 50£ or 100£ per annum of free land. Perhaps one of 2000£ or 3000£ a yeare thinks he must give with his daughters 3000£ or 4000£ apiece. And what if you give your daughter 1000£ the lesse, and pay the

1000£ for taxes? May not your daughter live comfortably and contentedly without it?

(2) *You* do but give your *money;* but poore men give their *lives* for the publike service by sea and land. While you sit warme at home out of feare and danger, *they* are night and day in suffering and perill. If any of the Great Generations goe to comand them, it is too often those that have prodigally wasted their estates at home, and must have large pay for their large desires. It were well with us by sea and land, if there were fewer such; and men were trusted more that can endure the hardships of souldiers and need not large provision for their lusts: so be it that their Generall Officers were men of interest, authority and skill. Is not the poore man's flesh and yours of the same materialls and temper? Can they beare cold and hunger and labour and abuses and danger of death, without sense, any more than you? Its strange to observe the power of education and custome in fleshly pleasures and worldly estates. Should a poore labourer be made worth 50£ or 100£ a yeare, he would think himselfe as happy as a Prince. And should a Rich Lord or Knight or Esq. be brought downe from thousands to 100£ a year, yea, or to 200£ or 300£, he would live as sadly as if he were undone. I am not offended with you for laying Excise and Taxes on Silks and Laces and Tapestry or Wines or Tobbacco or anything that such as you are the buyers of. They are fools that sell them if they will not make you pay it all. Should Ladyes wear the badges of —— in their Gold, Silver, Silk, Embroideryes, and Gawderies on free cost? Yea and teach their Chambermaids (woemen I mean) and their Kitchenmaids to goe in Silks and Stage Attire (as the Soldiers wear the Generall's Colours) and not pay for it! But its most reasonable that Landlords pay for their Lands; and that Lands, being the basis and stamen of the Kingdom's wealth and Interest, the publike maintenance should be laid upon them.

Obj. 10.—"All this is but from the Levelling Spirit of Popularity and by lifting up the vulgar to take down the Nobility and Gentry and at last the King, and to teach the people to cry down Monarchy and cry up a Comon Wealth."

Ans.—To those that impudently joyn their wickednes with such malicious slanders, I will speak more freely than to modest men. (1) Had you not been bred up from your childhood in Brutish

pleasure, in voluptuous Eating and Drinking and Sport and Gaming and Wantonness and Idlenes instead of Learning and Godlines and Sobriety, you would not have been such ignorant Sots as thus to abuse the name of a Common Wealth, and so talk against it as signifying a Democracy, when as it is the Genus to Monarchy and Autocracy also. And Monarchy is the best species (in most countreys) of a Comonwealth. When as the Comonwealth is constituted of King and Subjects, you cry down the King when you cry down a Comonwealth. The Ignoramuses seem not to know that the common welfare is so essentially the Terminus of the Policy, that to exclude it is to dissolve all the Policy, Kingdom and State. Had you been bred as Selden[1] and Hale[2] and such men of study were, or as statesmen are bred in France, Holland and Germany, you would better know what a Commonwealth is. If any, knowing it, do knavishly use the word to raise an odium on better men, there knavery will find them out at last. But must we now be befool'd by them ?

(2) It's such as you that foolishly and fraudulently endeavour to set up Democracy or Anarchy, while you make the People's burden heavy, and make them groan as the Israelites in Egypt. You force them to discontent and to desire a Change. Uneasynes and paine will put men still to look every way about them for some reliefe and ease. Doth he wrong the Oppressors of the comon People that saith, They are enemies of the King and Kingdome. Hence it is that the *despairing* poore have bin the Conquerors of the World. The Arabians and such base people have set up the Turkish Monarchy. How much of the world did Tamerlane with his Tartarians conquer in a little time ? And what an invincible Empire are the barbarous Tartarians to this day ! The wild Picts first, and the rude Saxons next, and the rude Danes next, did conquer England ; and Gildas will tell you that the British Princes and Bishops by their wickednes and oppression were the cause. The Goths, Ostrogoths, Huns and other barbarous nations conquered the great Roman Empire, being driven some by poverty and some by violence from their owne country ; and bringing their wives and children and all

[1] John Selden (1584-1654). See *D.N.B.*

[2] Sir Matthew Hale (1609-1676). See *R.B.*, iii., 47, 175, 181, and *D.N.B.*

that they had—resolved to live and die where they came and never to returne home. Salvian gives you a full account how farre Christians at home were the cause. There is no standing before the multitude if they be but armed with despair. While you coope them up in your pens they are (as always) looking to get out. And if a turne of affaires do give them opportunity, you will feel it. Interest ruleth the world. Use the people so well that they feel that peace and obedience and the Kingdom's Defense is their interest, and you take the most probable way of publike safety. But how miserable is that nation that is ridden by such fools as thinke they ride not well but on a tired horse, because a pampered horse may cast them ; and that thinke a Kingdom's best and safest when it is unmanned and serves as Slaves in chaines and fetters.

Obj. 11.—"You could not have chosen a more needlesse and unreasonable a subject. Our Lands are growne so cheape that we cannot get tenants for them : some howses stand empty a yeare together. And some (Tenants) run away when they should pay their rent. And are you perswading us out of the little that is left ?"

Ans. (1) Still remember that it is none but Rich Landlords that have great numbers of Tenants, that I speake of. I know that some men that cannot use their owne land, if they have but 20£ or 40£ a yeare, must set it to others that perhaps may need charity no more than themselves. Nor do I speak of your tenants that are rich or put to no great streights. (2) This presupposed, I answer you. This that you say is true as to matter of fact and its like to be more so ere long. Now Ireland is to be, as it were, replanted, multitudes will goe thither for better Landlords and bargaines : as many do to Jamaica, New Jersey, Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, Barbados. Bermudas, New England. But all this is long of you that drive them away by extremity. If you would abate their rents so farre as they might live comfortably like men and like Englishmen and Christians, they would neither turne up your tenements nor run away or quitt the land. Men naturally love their country and hate changes, and long and dangerous vogages (except rash lads that never were your tenants). They would take hard termes at home rather than be at the cost and trouble and danger of a remove. Take but 20£ instead of 30£ or 25£, and you may have it constantly paid you. I speak but according to my small narrow experience. I was borne

but to five tenements of freehold as my patrimony. Though I never took a farthing in my life for any of them for myselfe (having a multitude of poore kindred that must have *that* and as much more as I can spare) yet for them I Lett all to Tenants that never offer to remove. The small Tenements I give them leases freely and take little rent, and none of one. The bigger Tenement I let at 30£ per annum which men say is worth 40£ or neere ; and the Tenants are well contented. And I talke not of London howses, where rents fall and broaken fellows get in to deceive the Landlord. I gave 350£ for a lease of 60 yeares to a company : when my first tenant's time was out, I could get a promise but of half the former rent ; my friends put in a tenant that, after two yeares, ran away and left his children on the Parish and left 12£ of ground-rent to pay, and fifty shillings for other things ; and he never paid me one farthing (though it was in Friday Street). So I gave away my howse for nothing that I might have no more such costly howses (though I have neither Howse, land or Salary that I receive a penny from). So that I do not partially perswade others to what I would not do myselfe, nor do I talke of London houses. But if Great men would abate their Rack-rents to the poore toyling husbandmen in England and Wales, it would be their owne and the kingdome's gaine. I know there are many worthy Religious and Merciful Gentlemen that practise what I exhort others to ; who, as the Samaritan, know *Who is their* neighbour, and take every poor Tenant to be a brother and a member of the same body with themselves, and Love them accordingly, being *taught of God* to *Love another : qui monet ut facias* etc. My admonition to others is the praise of these, and to them it is but that they persevere and increase and be not weary of well-doing, for in due time they shall reape if they faint not. God hath made those men's liberality to the poore to be *easy* and *cheape* and *comfortable* to them. Its *easy*, because God hath not only saved them from that pride and sensuality which makes the luxurious waste sinfully what they should give to the poore, but hath made them hate so bruitish a life. It is *cheape*, because they spare it from the devouring sensuality which wasteth the Estates of the voluptuous ; and it is *comfortable* because Love taketh pleasure in doing good, and because they believe that though they are unprofitable servants and do but their duty, yet, as faithfull stewards, they have the promise of a plentifull everlasting reward ; And that

he that improved ten talents shall be ruler over ten cities, and shall enter into the Joy of his Lord. And I have the rather so largely recited the Scripture texts for good works, lest any of the Libertine Generation should infect you, that know not how to *exalt Christ* and extoll *free grace* without crying downe Christ's Kingly Government and Lawes, and our obedience and its motives, and say, as Crispe,[1] that nothing that we do will do us any good, nor must we look to be ever the better for it, because Christ hath done all for us and we did it by him; nor will any sin do us any harm because it is Christ's sin that hath taken it on him and not ours, or, as *Saltmarsh*,[2] that Christ hath *repented* and *believed for us*. Christ hath done good works for them: and will they rejoyce that Christ is glorifyed and not they, and say, It is for us? Peruse the Texts that I have so largely cited, and then nothing but obstinate prejudice or contempt of Scripture, can keep you from abhorring this *Crispian, Anti-Christian Libertinisme.*

Chap. 7. Advice to Poore Unrelieved Husbandmen.

Because the knowledge of the wickednes of the world perswades me that it is not the most of Rich Landlords that all this will prevail with, yea that there is little hope that they will so much as read it, I will speake to you for yourselves: and if you will not be perswaded to do good to yourselves you are unworthy of clemency or helpe from others.

I. Know what are the Temptations of your sufferings and carefully resist them. (1) Your poverty will tempt you to sinfull discontent and to repining at God's providence, yea and to hard thoughts of God, and to unthankfullnes for all the mercyes that you have had or that yet you have. And all these are sins which are an hundred times worse than poverty.

(2) Your poverty will tempt you to uncharitable thoughts and speeches of your oppressours, and hinder you from loving and forgiving

[1] Tobias Crisp (1600-1643) antinomian, whose son, by republishing his works—4 vols. of Sermons—in 1690, excited a great controversy on the subject of grace and works which troubled Baxter's last days.

[2] John Saltmarsh (d. 1647). He and William Dell (d. 1664) "were the two great Preachers at the Head Quarters," while Baxter was with the Army (1645-47), *R.B.*, i., 56.

them ; and will tempt you to envy the rich ; and to overvalue riches, while you too must feel your want. Yea, many poore men that cannot get riches, do thinke highlyer of them than those that have them : because the owners are still unsatisfyed, while the afflicted still feel their need.

(3) Your poverty will tempt you to unlawfull wayes of getting, and to thinke that necessity will excuse you, that is, to steale, to overreach others in bargaining or accounts, to use unlawfull trades, to lie, or deale unjustly.

(4) Your poverty will tempt you to omit religious dutyes in your familyes (if not in secret and at the church), and to cast by God's word and prayer and meditation, and to thinke and talke of nothing but the world, and to neglect the instruction and godly education of your children, or to do all this heartlessly, heavily and slightly. All this must be considerately prayed and watched against. How oft have I heard some proud fooles tell me that they goe not to church for want of cloaths, as if the Cloaths that they work in may not serve to pray in : some beggars are proud.

II. Understand also what Advantages your poverty giveth you, above the rich and prosperous worldlings ; and then you will find that the benefit may weigh downe all your losses. Think of these following.

(1) Is it not a comfort to be so farre conformed to Christ who for our sakes became poore that we by his poverty might be made rich. His voluntary poverty, who was Lord of all, was part of his Humiliation as a sacrifice for our sins ; and he that hath sanctifyed death to us as our passage to eternall life hath sanctifyed our sufferings on the way to death. He that hath predestinated us to glory hath predestinated us to be conformed in Christ in his sufferings.

(2) How (great) a helpe have you, to escape the too much love of this present world, and to drive you most seriously to seeke a better. If you will love a poore miserable life of trouble better than heaven, you are more unexcuseable than the rich that have a life of pleasure. If you that cannot hope for anything on earth but labour and sorrow, will not joyfully heare the tidings of salvation, and presently labour to make sure of a better habitation, how great is your sin and folly ! The poore received the glad tidings of the Gospell in Christ's time on earth, when the rich rejected it. *They* dreame that they have something surer and better for them than heaven, and choose it to their

damnation. But *you* know that you must have heaven or nothing: for this world is to you but a raging ocean or a bed of thornes.

(3) You little know how great a mercey it is that you have not the constant strong temptations to fleshly pleasures, drunkennes and fornication and fleshly lust and bruitish sensuality, as those have that live with the continual baits of those sins before them, that are every day at a full table of flesh and wines. The stronger the temptation, the greater the difficulty to overcome it. And God saith, *if you live after the flesh ye shall die, but if by the Spirit ye mortifie the deeds of the body ye shall live.* The question is whether you would have the Devil's baits to be more deceitfull, and your salvation made far more difficult and doubtfull.

(4) And truly it is a great mercey to you that your calling and daily labour is so necessary and good that you may call it an acceptable service to God, and expect that he owne and blesse you in it, if you do it with an obedient heavenly mind: whereas the daily life of the voluptuous Rich men in feasting and gaming and play and idlenes is a constant Sin abhorred of God.

III. Thankfully value and moderately use the cheap and course dyet that your condition allows you. I have told you before that your dyet is farre more healthfull than Dives's: and I believe more pleasant to a healthful appetite. Few of you lye under their Gout and Stone and dropsies etc. Your whey and butter-milk possets, is much more healthfull than their Sack and Claret. And your Whey-curds and Milk and Cabbage and Turnips and Parsnips and flummery and such like than their Venison and costly Fowls and fish. A quarter of an Acre set with Potatoes, and those called Jerusalem Artichokes especially, will find you half a year's wholesom food. When you must have flesh a sheep's head of sixpence or a biefes Cheeke will give you better broth and stronger nourishment than most of their costly preparations, or Sheepes feet are a wholesome meat. If you are sick you have cheap medicine in your fields and gardens, if you knew them. If you are weak eggs and cawdles[1] and well-made Pancakes and puddings are more nutritious than quails and larks and all the curiosities of the voluptuous. If you are consumptive you

[1] Cawdles—variant of caudle (calidum) = a warm drink consisting of thin gruel, mixed with wine or ale, sweetened and spiced, given chiefly to "sick people"—*O.D.*

have snails. If you have dangerous coughs you have Elicampane and Treacle (molossus) or honey, or, if need be, flower of brimstone. If you have old coughs, you may have Olibanum, or fryed beans boiled with garlike, and eaten for food—*that* doth wonders. But I am not playing the physician for you yet: but intreat you to be thankfull to God for your condition, and not to think it worse than it is.

IV. Whatever shift you make be sure you teach your children to read; and get a bible and some few good books in your houses; and if anyone can read let the rest heare him. If you have not money, begg it of some rich rather than neglect your owne and your children's souls. I have written about 128 books, but I would comend to the poore but a few:—

first, a twopenny book called *How to be certainly Saved.*

(2) the *call to the Unconverted.*

(3) *Directions for Sound Conversion.*

(4) But if you can get but one—*The Poor man's family book*—which I wrote for them that cannot get many, as conteining all your soul's concerns from the hour of conversion to the hour of death.

V. Be sure to improve the Lords Day. You are then vacant from your labours: be so from your cares. And in long winter nights when men cannot work, you have time to read and pray and catechize your children.

VI. Be not Strangers to your Teachers. Aske them what you doubt of. Desire their necessary helpe and advice about the care of your soules.

VII. Keep peace and love in your families and with your neighbours. Take heed of scandalous living and of divisions, strife and unrighteousness.

VIII. Never borrow money of any man, when you have not sufficient reason to be confident of paying him. If your state be doubtfull, let your creditor know it and consent to run the hazard, else you rob him while you take his money without his true consent. They are as bad as Highway Robbers that live, by borrowing, on other men's money, by hideing deceit. It's farre better in your necessity to beg. And debt is a heavy burden.

IX. Adde not to your poverty by indiscretion, idlenes, or gaming, or excess.

X. Flatter not yourselves with the thoughts of long life, but spend every day in preparation for death; and in all your business remember whither you are going and where you must dwell for ever. Take not Christ's Redemption and the promises of Heaven for doubtfull things. May[1] the firme beliefe of Heavenly Glory possess your soules, how comfortably may you suffer and live and dye!

[1] I.e., If but the firm belief of . . .

THE NEW TEXT OF THE ḲURAN.

By RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., Etc.

IT is certainly a notable discovery to be able to show, by the aid of an early Syriac translation, that the Ḳuran was in the first days of its circulation a somewhat different book from the authorised Bible of Islam.

Dr. Mingana has done a service to Islam itself in drawing attention to the discrepancies between the Syriac text and the official Arabic. He is, however, too sound a scholar, and too much in sympathy with all that is best in Moslem faith and tradition, to exaggerate these differences and make more of them than may be lawfully affirmed by an unprejudiced reader.

If I may tread in the footsteps of so judicious a scholar as my good friend Mingana, I should like to ask whether the passages which appear to have been excised from the Ḳuran will throw any light upon the history of the religion itself.

I will confine myself to two passages: the first, the converse between Allah and the Pen; the second, the attitude of the angels at the creation of Adam.

First, *the Pen.* It runs as follows:—

> "He first created the Pen of the writer, and He said to the Pen, 'Walk and write,' and the Pen answered, 'What shall I write?' and He said, 'Write concerning what happens till the end.'"

Dr. Mingana reports the existence of very early Moslem traditions dealing with this verse. We do not affirm more with regard to the authorities that he quotes than that they at least establish an early currency of the tradition about Allah and the Pen, even if they do not finally prove its canonicity. Our enquiry is in another direction. We want to know where the statement came from, which is here credited to Mohammed himself. The answer seems to be in the following direction.

The Arabic for pen is *ḳalam*, which is immediately recognizable as being related to the Latin *calamus* (= reed), however the relation is to be explained. There is, however, another word hardly to be distinguished from it, viz. *kalam* (= word). Now we begin to see daylight. Mohammed (or some one who passes in his name), has heard it said that God first of all created His Word, and that He conferred with His Word in contemplating the creative acts. This is the early Christian doctrine, viz. that Wisdom, later identified with the Logos or Word, was the beginning of the Creation of God: "the Lord created me the beginning of His way for His works," says the writer of the eighth chapter of Proverbs (LXX): and for the conference between God and His Word at the Creation, it was customary to refer to the first chapter of Genesis, "Let Us make," etc. It would be superfluous to give further illustrations. The reference to the *Creation* of the Word, which caused so much trouble in the controversy between the Arians and Athanasians, is also too well known to need illustration.

Mohammed, then, heard a Christian teacher explain how God first of all created the Word, and took it to mean that the first thing God created was the Pen. Hence the curious passage in the new Ḳuranic supplement. It is one more instance of the dependence of the Ḳuran upon Christian sources, and may be added to the story of Jesus' creating the mud-sparrows and other similar matter.

Second: *Adam and the Angels*. The sentence which it is proposed to add to the canonical text runs as follows:—

> "And Adam was fashioned and was lying on the earth forty years without soul, and the angels passed by and saw him."

Here also we leave the traditional evidence for the currency of the passage in the hands of Dr. Mingana. Our concern is to show, as in the previous passage about the Pen, that we are here drawing upon a Christian or a Jewish source, including under the term Christian such traditions as may be classed as heretical or Gnostic.

First of all with regard to a possible Christian origin for the passage.

The Christian writer, Hippolytus of Rome, tells us in his account of a heretical sect called the Naassenes (Serpent-worshippers ?) that they or some closely related sects, made the following statements with regard to the creation of Adam:—

"This Adam is the man whom alone earth brought forth: and he lay inanimate, unmoved, as still as a statue, being an image of Him who is above." Hippolytus, *Refutation*, v. 2.

Here we have a Gnostic statement as to the creation of Adam—that he lay upon the ground, and was without a soul, as the new passage from the Ḳuran affirms.

We are not, however, limited to Gnostic or heretical sources for parallels to the angels who look upon the soul-less Adam. There is a long line of Jewish tradition as to the relation between Adam and the angels. The starting point is in the Scripture itself where God says, "Let Us make man." In the beginning there was no thought of interpreting *Us* as a plural of majesty. The early disputes between Jews and Christians of which we find traces in the dialogues between representatives (real or imaginary) of either faith, show clearly that the Christians said that *Us* meant *God and His Wisdom*, or *God and His Word*, which soon led to the belief that *Us* meant the *Trinity*. The Jew, in such dialogues, replies that God was talking to the angels. For instance, in the Dialogue of *Athanasius and Zacchæus* we find as follows:—

Athanasius said: "Certainly God was speaking to some one when He said, Let Us make man in Our image and likeness."
Zacchaeus said: "He was talking to Himself."
Athanasius said: "But He does not say, Let Me make man, but, Let Us make."
Zacchaeus said: "He was talking to the angels."
Dial. c. 5.

Here is something similar from the Latin Patristic literature: in the treatise of Maximus of Turin *Against the Jews*, we find as follows:—

Audi adhuc: *dixit Deus faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et fecit Deus hominem, ad imaginem Dei fecit illum.* Dicit forte Judaeus: ad angelos Deus dixit: convincitur in eo quod dicitur, *et Deus facit hominem;* non enim 'angeli' dixit 'fecerunt,' sed Deus, inquit, *fecit hominem; Deus dixit* et *Deus fecit;* id est, Pater imperavit et Filius adimplevit.

The explanation must be a very early one, for it has influenced the Christian Scriptures. It underlies the argument of the first chapter of the Hebrews, where the "ministering angels" appear abruptly, to be regarded as inferior to the Son by whom the worlds were made. In

the Jewish literature there are abundant traces of God's conference with the angels, *re* the creation of man, accompanied by the refusal of certain angels to worship man, when created. For instance, in *Bereshith Rabba* we are told that "When the Holy One, Blessed be He, desired to create man, He took counsel with the ministering angels." Not unnaturally, the angelic powers replied by quoting the eighth Psalm, "What is man that thou art mindful of him?" Similar traces of contempt on the part of the angels are found in the Ḳuran (Sura 11): where the Lord says to the angels, "I am about to place a vice-gerent upon earth," and the angels reply, "Wilt thou place there one who will do evil therein, and shed blood? but we celebrate Thy praise and sanctify Thee." The contemptuous attitude of the angels resulted in open rebellion, and in the refusal to worship the newly-formed first-born Man, when he was brought into the world. When, therefore, in the new Ḳuranic sentence, we find the angels looking upon Adam, not yet animate, but only shaped, we can see that the statement requires completion. They not only look, but they despise Adam, until God convinces them of their error. There is abundant Jewish evidence on the first point, so that it would be possible to argue that here, as elsewhere, Mohammed was under Jewish influence.

But why does the new text say that Adam was lying *forty years* on the ground without soul? This must be an attempt to harmonize the two accounts of the creation of man in the first two chapters of Genesis; we are told that God created man in His image, and then later that He breathed into his nostrils and he became a living soul. An interval of time is postulated, during which the new-made man lies soul-less. This forty years interim of life, if life it can be called, has again a Jewish look about it, and can hardly be a Moslem invention. So we infer finally that Jewish tradition underlies the new verse.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN: GREAT BRITAIN'S CONTRIBUTION.

1914-1925.

By THE EDITOR.

THE month of July (1925) witnessed the shipment to Louvain of the twelfth and probably the final consignment of books collected under the scheme inaugurated by the Governors of the John Rylands Library in 1914, for rendering assistance to the authorities of the University of Louvain in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the war.

This twelfth consignment, which consisted of sixty-eight cases containing 6,671 volumes, included the splendid collection of Oriental and general literature bequeathed to his *Alma Mater* by the late Bishop of Salford, Dr. Louis Charles Casartelli, and raised the total number of volumes obtained by the British Committee under this scheme to the substantial figure of 55,782.

Now that the Committee's aim, of securing for our friends at Louvain a live collection of books of at least fifty thousand volumes, has been so abundantly realized, it may not be out of place briefly to recall the circumstances which led up to the proposal, and the steps which were taken to carry it into effect.

The scheme originated with the desire of the Governors of the John Rylands Library, to give some practical expression to their deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of the University of Louvain in the grievous loss which they had sustained through the wanton destruction of their famous library. This they felt could best be accomplished by means of a gift of books to form the nucleus of a new library to replace the splendid collection of manuscripts and printed books which had been involved in that senseless act. Consequently, at the December meeting of the Council of the Library, of which

Sir Alfred Hopkinson was at that time Chairman, the librarian was authorized to make a selection from the stock of duplicates in their possession, which had gradually accumulated through the purchase *en bloc*, from time to time, of large and special collections which invariably included a number of works of which copies were already to be found on the shelves of the library, together with a set of the printed catalogues and other publications which had been issued under the auspices of the governors.

A list of works forming the first instalment of the proposed gift, numbering 200 volumes, was drawn up to accompany the offer when it was made to the authorities of the University, through the medium of Dr. A. Carnoy, the Louvain Professor of Zend, Pehlevi, and Greek Palæography, at that time resident in Cambridge. The offer was gratefully accepted, and in acknowledging the gift Professor Carnoy described it as :

> ". . . actually the first which had been effectually given to the future University Library of Louvain . . . one of the very first acts which tend to the preparation of our revival."

As the exiled university was for the time being dismembered and homeless, we undertook to house the volumes until such time as Belgium had been freed from the invaders, and the University had been repatriated.

Having given that undertaking it occurred to us that there must be many other libraries and similar institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome the opportunity of sharing in such an expression of practical sympathy, and in the subsequent issue of the "BULLETIN of the John Rylands Library," which made its appearance in April, 1915, we launched our first public appeal for help, in which we announced our willingness to undertake the custody of any suitable works which might be entrusted to us for the purpose of assisting in the equipment of the new library. And in order to obviate the needless duplication of gifts, we requested would-be contributors to be good enough, in the first instance, to submit to us lists of the books they were willing to offer.

Our scheme included the preparation of a register of the names and addresses of the various contributors, with an exact description of their gifts, for presentation to the University at the appropriate time, to serve as a permanent record of this combined effort to repair some

of the damage which had been wrought. It was also decided to equip this collection, whatever dimensions it might ultimately assume, with a carefully compiled card catalogue, so that when the time came for its transference to its new home, it might be placed upon the shelves prepared for its reception and be ready for use forthwith.

We were anxious that the combined gift should be an acknowledgment not unworthy of our indebtedness to the incomparably brave nation and their valiant Sovereign, who sacrificed all but honour to preserve their independence, and thereby safeguard the liberties of Europe by frustrating the invaders' plans. We owe to Belgium more than we can ever repay, but it was fitting that we should seize such an opportunity to repay at least some part of our debt. It was true that much of the mischief done in Louvain and elsewhere in Belgium was beyond repair, but we believed that some of it might be remedied or at least mitigated by those who felt sympathy with our noble and self-sacrificing allies in the hour of their affliction.

Our appeal met with an immediate and generous response, of which the most gratifying feature was that all classes of the community participated in it. Offers of help reached us not only from all parts of the United Kingdom, but from other parts of the English-speaking world, as well as from several of the allied and neutral countries.

Evidence of the far-reaching interest which the appeal evoked is to be found in the accompanying list of contributors, numbering nearly seven hundred, containing, as it does, names of institutions which have made liberal contributions of eminently suitable works from their stock of duplicates; names of individual collectors who have given with equal liberality and eagerness, from their own shelves, volumes of great interest and often of great rarity, and also names of struggling students, whose gifts partake of the sanctity of a sacrifice, since in many cases they consist of treasured possessions which had been acquired through the exercise of economy and self-denial.

This gratifying result has been obtained largely through the ready and valuable assistance which has been rendered by the press throughout the eleven years that have elapsed since we issued our first appeal, by giving to it a publicity it would have been impossible to secure in any other way.

When, as early as July, 1915, the encouraging nature of the first fruits of our appeal came to the knowledge of Dr. Van der Essen,

Louvain's Professor of History, he wrote to us in the following terms :—

> " Writing as a Professor of the University of Louvain, let me thank you for all that you have done for us since the crime of Louvain. It is such a wonderful thing in this time of horror to see how the scholars of all countries—the central empires excepted, alas !—have manifested their friendship and proved to us by so many deeds and words that scientific international solidarity is still alive. Especially has England done splendid work, and among that I rank your . . . initiative as one of the most, if not the most effective. I had, indeed, opportunity in America to see what your appeal was bringing forth, and how by your kind intermediary practical help was being prepared. It is noble work you are doing, work which will have a fine result, and I can assure you that never will the University of Louvain forget that the appeal went out from Manchester. . . . I hope to have the pleasure to come . . . and to witness the rebirth of our poor library, on the very soil of your splendid and glorious country. ' Kultur ' has destroyed the treasures of Louvain : it is a fact full of consequence that what has been destroyed, will have been restored by the kind intermediary of one of the celebrated centres of English culture."

In one of the earliest reports of the progress of our scheme we ventured to express the hope that the new library, which was already rising phœnix-like out of the ashes of the old one, would be far richer and more glorious than its predecessor, and that the agencies through which that was to be accomplished would be as widely representative as possible. It was a source of great encouragement, therefore, to learn with what promptitude a number of learned societies and institutions had resolved to participate in this scheme.

Lest we should appear to claim too large a share in the initiation of this scheme it should be explained, that when we made our first appeal we were unaware that similar proposals had been made by several societies, libraries, and universities, although no definite steps or public announcements in respect of them had been made. The Classical Association, for example, had made an appeal to its members to assist in the reconstruction of the classical side of the library ; the University of Manchester had forwarded an address of sympathy to the authorities of the University of Louvain, and had resolved to set aside a set of the publications of the University Press, together with a number of duplicates from the Christie Library, proposing at the same time to invite the co-operation of other universities. Similar resolutions were passed by the Trustees of the British Museum, the Bodleian

Library, the Signet Library, the National Library of Wales, the Universities of Aberdeen, Cambridge, Durham, the University College of Oxford, and others. For a variety of reasons definite action in most cases was postponed for a while, and in the meantime, we, unconscious of these decisions, ventured to launch our appeal. We cannot regret our action, since it revealed a widespread desire to give tangible proof to the people of Belgium of the high and affectionate regard in which they were held, and provided for the co-ordination of these and other proposals that were in contemplation, the ultimate result of which has been a considerable accession of strength to the new library.

In the early part of 1916 a new impetus was given to our scheme through the initiation by the British Academy of a further movement fraught with great possibilities. Representatives of the principal libraries and learned institutions in the United Kingdom were called together under the presidency of Viscount Bryce, to consider the advisability of co-operating with the Institut de France in the formation of an International Committee, whose aim should be the restoration of the University of Louvain and its library. The meeting was held at Burlington House, and resulted in the formation of a small executive committee, consisting of the following representatives: The Lord Muir Mackenzie, G.C.B., K.C.; Sir J. P. Mahaffy, G.B.E., C.V.O.; Sir F. G. Kenyon, K.C.B.; Sir A. T. Davies, K.B.E., C.B.; Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C.; Sir Edmund Gosse, K.C.B.; Sir Israel Gollancz, K.B.E.; Sir Norman Moore; Sir Arthur Shipley, F.R.S., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge; Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton; Dr. Henry Guppy; Dr. J. W. Mackail; Dr. C. T. Hagberg Wright; Falconer Madan, Esq.; C. G. Kekewich, Esq.; H. R. Tedder, Esq.; with Lord Muir Mackenzie as Chairman, and the Librarian of the House of Lords (Hugh Butler, Esq.) as Honorary Secretary, to consider the best way of organizing the movement effectively, and to take whatever steps were considered necessary.

At the first meeting of the Executive, which was held in the Library of the House of Lords, it was decided to co-operate with the Governors of the John Rylands Library in the development of the scheme which they had already inaugurated. Several appeals have since been made on behalf of the Committee by Lord Muir Mackenzie, with excellent results.

As soon as our first appeal reached America, in the early months of 1915, it was given a most enthusiastic welcome, and we were much encouraged to receive from Miss Da Costa Green, Librarian to Mr. Pierpont Morgan, a cablegram in which the offer was made to provide a centre in New York to which contributions from that side of the Atlantic might be sent. Miss Green followed up her cablegram by a written communication in which she generously undertook to do everything in her power to further the objects of our scheme, and at the same time informed us that Mr. Pierpont Morgan with great cordiality had set aside a number of duplicates of fifteenth-century books and other works of great interest from his own library, together with a set of such of his own printed catalogues and other publications as were still available. In the course of our correspondence we pointed out that with the co-operation of the United States it should be possible not only to replace the incinerated contents of the library, but to provide a new building to house them. A committee was subsequently formed, but after careful consideration, it was decided that so long as the United States maintained her position of neutrality it was obviously unwise to take any outwardly active part in the movement. It is now quite evident that whilst outwardly active participation in the scheme was suspended for the time being, our friends were quietly organizing their resources in readiness for the time when active co-operation would be feasible. To that end a strong and influential National Committee, representing the best interests in that great country, was formed, under the chairmanship of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia University, to co-operate with the International Committee in the restoration of the Library of the University of Louvain.

On the 11th of November, 1918, the day on which the Armistice was signed, an appeal was issued, and one of the first active steps to be taken was to commission the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Clifford N. Carver, to wait upon the Rector of the University of Louvain, with an offer to rebuild the library. The offer, needless to say, was gratefully accepted, and steps were immediately taken to provide an up-to-date building from the designs of one of America's leading architects, whose plans were approved by the authorities of Louvain, and on the 21st of June, 1921, the scheme was advanced another stage by the laying of the foundation stone.

At the same time a sub-committee was formed, under the chairmanship of Dr. Herbert Putnam, the Librarian of the Congressional Library, to co-operate with the other National Committees in the matter of providing the literary equipment of the projected new building. Arrangements were entered into between Dr. Putnam and ourselves, with a view of obviating duplication and overlapping.

The aim with which we inaugurated our scheme, as we have already explained, was to replace the contents of the library, and we had little doubt of the ultimate success of our project, but we did not dare to anticipate any result so completely satisfactory as that which has been obtained through the enlightened generosity of our friends in America. But for their timely intervention it is unlikely that the library building as well as its equipment could have been restored with anything approaching the same thoroughness and dispatch.

It was with a very liberal view of the scope of the modern university that we entered upon our task of providing our friends at Louvain with at least the nucleus of a new library, designed to meet the immediate requirements of a progressive general university, in which provision is made for everything useful in the development of mind and matter.

We realized that the methods of modern education have undergone so complete a revolution in recent years, that an ever-increasing part of its energies is now devoted to the encouragement of investigation and research, with the result that the library has acquired a much more important place in its organization than heretofore. It is now the centre of activity and has been appropriately described as "the laboratory of the humanistic departments."

Furthermore, there was a time when the university library was innocent of anything so mundane as the literature of trade and industry; but such have been the developments of the modern up-to-date institution that it is no longer limited to things academic. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the term "academic," under modern conditions, has acquired a new and broader significance. In consequence of this broadening conception of the scope of education, and in order to meet the public demand for vocational training, the modern university has developed into a place where everything useful may be studied, and as a result a demand has sprung up, in the University of Louvain as elsewhere, for the literature of technology and the

useful arts, surrounded by a whole new literature relating to various crafts. Nothing is now alien to the university library, which, in consequence, is called upon to give shelter to universal literature.

Whilst keeping in view the general character of the library we had in contemplation, we were anxious that it should be thoroughly representative of English scholarship, in other words, that its equipment should include the necessary material for research in the history, language and literature of this country, together with the contributions which British scholars have made to other departments of learning. In the attainment of that object we felt that the learned societies of the Empire could render very material aid by contributing sets of their transactions and publications, and this view was amply justified by the splendid response which they made to our appeal, with the result that sets of the transactions of the principal historical, literary, philological, philosophical and scientific societies have been included in the gift.

We were also fortunate in being able to enlist the sympathy and help of the leading publishers, who had it in their power, more than any other section of the community, to assist us in the building up of the collection on its modern side. It was quite obvious that if the library was to respond to the varied demands that were likely to be made upon it, it was necessary that it should be equipped with the latest and best authorities in every department of knowledge. A number of the publishers with great generosity invited us to make a selection of the works announced in their current catalogues, and as a result some thousands of volumes were added to the collection, greatly to its enrichment.

Another interesting feature in the accompanying list, which should not be overlooked, is the number of contributions which have been made in memory of deceased friends. In this way the names of several prominent scholars, recently deceased, have been commemorated, such as: Dean Church, Canon Scott Holland, Professor James Hope Moulton, Professor H. W. Hogg, Dr. Swete, Professor Emmott, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Dr. Lloyd Roberts, and Sir Peter Le Page Renouf. There could be no more appropriate way of perpetuating the name of a relative or a friend than by dedicating, in this way, a gift to their memory, in the interest of scholarship.

In the month of January, 1919, Belgium having been freed from the hateful presence of the invaders, the University of Louvain was

repatriated by the return of the authorities to the devastated scene of their former activities and triumphs, there to reassemble their scattered students, to resume their accustomed work, and to take a prominently active part in the immediate business of effecting a transition to a peace footing, as well as in the educational and other schemes of reconstruction which were already taking shape.

Writing under date of the 21st of September of that same year, the Rector of the University (Monsiegneur P. Ladeuze), in the name of his *Alma Mater*, at the conclusion of the first session of its revival, referred in terms of gratitude and appreciation to what had been accomplished by the Governors of the John Rylands Library in collaboration with the Executive of the National Committee, and with the aid of the many contributors, both individual and institutional, who with great promptitude and generosity had responded to the appeals for help.

During that first year of its revival no fewer than 3200 students were in attendance at the University, and during the ensuing session a still larger number were enrolled. Their work, however, was sorely hampered through the absence of a library. That was not to be wondered at, for one of the first essentials in the organization and equipment of any university is a library, for without one, as Thomas à Kempis has expressed it: "C'est comme une table sans mets, un jardin sans fleurs, une bourse sans argent." Fortunately that was a deficiency which it was possible to remedy during the second session. Temporary premises had been secured to serve as library and reading-room pending the erection of the new building, and it was our privilege to assist in the furnishing of the shelves with a live up-to-date collection of books, calculated to meet the immediate requirements of staff and students, consisting of 30,427 volumes, which had been gradually accumulated here in Manchester, as the outcome of the combined efforts of the many friends who had taken so active an interest in furthering the objects of the scheme.

In a letter dated the 30th of January, 1920, soon after the first consignment of books had reached Louvain, Monseigneur Ladeuze, the Recteur Magnificus, writing on behalf of the University, expresses himself as follows:—

> " . . . Les résultats que vous avez obtenus sont merveilleux. Vous avez atteint votre but. Grâce à vous nos professeurs et nos

étudiants ont encore une bibliothèque, et une bibliothèque utilisable, longtemps avant que les Allemands aient réparé leur crime. Par la richesse de son contenu, par les soins qui ont été donnés aux livres, par la peine que vous avez prise de dresser un catalogue soigné et une bonne partie des fiches, votre premier envoi de livres dépasse de loin tous ceux que nous avons reçus, jusqu'ici. La joie de nos professeurs devant ces beaux livres faisait plaisir ; j'aurai voulu que vous en fuissiez témoin. Et voici qu'un nouvel envoi nous parvient encore plus precieux que le premier. Les listes que j'ai reçues me permettent d'en apprécier toute l'importance, et en particulier l'utilité que nous pourrons en retirer toute de suite pour nos études. Du plus profond de mon coeur, je vous dis mon meilleur merci."

Again, under date of the 23rd of February, upon receipt of the detailed lists of the contents of the cases of the third consignment, Monseigneur Ladeuze writes :—

" . . . Ce nouvel envoi va être réellement d'une grande utilité pour nos professeurs et nos étudiants. La liste du contenu de chaque caisse, que je reçois en même temps que votre lettre, me le prouve surabondamment, et je vous demande la permission de ne pas chercher de formules pour vous éxprimer à nouveau notre vive gratitude . . . 16,390 volumes, choisis, bien ordonnés, en excellent état ! C'est déjà toute une bibliothèque, et une bibliothèque universitaire ! Et vous voulez bien me dire que ce n'est pas fini, qu'au contraire le nombre des dons s'accroit tous les jours ! Encore une fois, sans formules, merci de tout mon cœur ! "

Again under date of the 22nd May :—

" Je ne sais plus à quelles formules recourir pour vous dire mon admiration et ma gratitude.

" Il y a quelques jours, je parlais à M. le Professeur Van der Essen de vos envois. Et il me repondit : ' J'ai vu les débuts de la collection pendant la guerre ; ils étaient déjà magnifiques. Mais je n'aurais pas pu soupçonner alors les développements que cette collection allait prendre. . . . ' Ces paroles se rapportaient aux quatres premiers envois. Le cinquième va encore considerablement augmenter ces richesses, comme je puis en juger par les indications que vous voulez bien me donner, en m'annoncant son arrivée.

" . . . Soyez encore remercié 26,336 fois pour les 26,336 volumes, tous de choix, que nous vous devons !

" Les volumes des quatre envois précedents sont déjà à la disposition de nos lecteurs, et se trouvent bien établis sur les rayons de notre bibliothèque provisoire.

" Il est bien regrettable qu'il ne soit pas encore possible de commencer à construire notre nouvelle bibliothèque."

Yet again, under date of the 23rd of July, Monseigneur Ladeuze writes :—

" . . . Au moment où je reçois votre lettre et le catalogue de votre nouvel envoi, je suis sur le point de m'absenter pour plusieurs jours. Je veux cependant vous envoyer tout de suite une rapide mais très sincère expression de ma vive gratitude. Ce m'est un grand plaisir de faire connaître à tous ceux qui visitent notre bibliothèque provisoire l'importance extraordinaire de votre collaboration à l'œuvre de la restauration de notre dépôt. Nous voici 30,427 fois obligés envers vous ! Et combien ce nouvel envoi nous sera précieux, la brève description que vous m'en donnez, le montre éloquemment. La semaine prochaine aura lieu la grande réunion annuelle de notre conseil d'administration, présidée par le Cardinal Mercier. Je me ferai un devoir de lui exposer tous ce que nous vous devons."

Monsieur L. Stainier, Administrateur de la Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, who was charged with the direction of the restoration of the Louvain Library, and consequently has had the handling and direction of these earlier consignments, when acknowledging their safe arrival employs the same emphatic terms of appreciation. On the 6th of April he writes as follows :—

" Your letter of the 1st April reached us at the time the Easter bells were chiming in happy remembrance of the Saviour's Resurrection, and I could not refrain from associating their chimes with the joy of the resurrection of our library. . . .

" The first three consignments have caused the greatest satisfaction among the professors, but I think they will feel no less happy when the fourth consignment is ready for consultation. Such interesting and useful sets as the publications of the Early English Text Society, the Gibb Memorial Fund, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Gwatkin collection, etc., will enable our masters and students to resume their work anew.

Again on the 3rd of May, M. Stainier writes :—

" . . . Above all we congratulate you upon the system of transmission you have instituted; the rapidity and smoothness of which is marvellous; and we are now considering the application of the system to the recuperation in Germany, the beginning of which is in view."

Yet again on the 31st of May :—

" . . . Once more I am able to report the safe arrival of your latest consignment of sixty-three cases of books . . . no, of treasures !

" Positively such collections as the texts of the Manchester University Press and of the Clarendon Press at Oxford would be considered among the most useful collections already shelved in our stores, and I do not doubt of the satisfaction of masters and students when they are enabled to know the Mayhew and Jenner collections, and peruse the books gathered by such workers.

" In the case of the publications of the Folk Lore Society, we had

to open the cases in which they were contained, in order to satisfy the impatient professor who had been awaiting its coming since early morning.

"The 'Agrippa's Works' (a volume which at one time belonged to Louvain) was received as a prodigal son reintegrating his parents' home."

The 28th of July, 1921, marked a new epoch in the history of the University of Louvain, for it was on that day that the reconstruction of the library was advanced another stage, with the laying of the first stone of the new building, which was to be erected on a splendid site at the highest part of the town, overlooking the Place du Peuple, the exact spot where the little Belgian army, away back in the dark days of 1914, thrilled the world by defying the invading hordes of Germany.

The actual ceremony was preceded by a brilliant academic function in the great amphitheatre of the Collège du Pape, presided over by the venerable and beloved Cardinal Mercier, as Président du Conseil d'Administration de l'Université.

The guests included representatives of twenty-one nations, surrounded by the delegates of the scientific bodies and from the provinces S. of Belgium. "Tous accourus ici," remarked the venerable Prelate, "pour nous interroger sur nos espérances et pour nous aider à les réaliser."

The King and Queen of the Belgians, accompanied by the Princess Marie José, were greeted with cheers as they entered the amphitheatre, followed by Monsieur Poincaré, the Prince of Monaco, Marshal Pétain, the members of the Belgian Cabinet and of the Diplomatic Corps, and Dr. Murray Butler.

After solemnly blessing the assembly Cardinal Mercier opened the proceedings by an address of welcome, in which he recalled the dreadful night of 25-26 August, 1914, and his avowal of confidence in divine justice, which would not allow the burning of Louvain to be the final act in its long history. Here are the Cardinal's own words :—

"Nous savions que l'heure de la justice viendrait. Nous l'attendions. A nos soldats, à nos alliés de nous apporter la victoire. A nous de la mériter.

"Jamais pour ma part, je n'ai cru un instant que le Régulateur Suprême des evénements humains, qui avait permis que notre foi fût soumise à pareille épreuve, pût nous abandonner.

"Aux heures les plus tragiques de notre épreuve, les évêques belges, gardiens et protecteurs de l'Université de Louvain, ne doutèrent jamais de sa résurrection prochaine et de ses glorieuses destinées. . . . Nous avons eu une foi indéfectible dans le triomphe final de justice."

His Eminence, in the course of his address, remarked that there were two dates which would ever be remembered in Belgium, dates which mark ruin and restoration, the one (25-26 August, 1914) the date of the burning of the library, the other (28 July, 1921) the date of the commencement of the erection, near its ruins, of the new building which is to replace it.

The Cardinal's reference to the King who was present throughout the whole of the proceedings, was received with renewed applause, due not merely to personal popularity, but because, as the Cardinal said of him: "Son Majesté le Roi calme au milieu des orages et sans peur des dangers, représente en lui-même ce qu'il y a de plus noble dans la vie et le caractère du peuple."

It was eminently appropriate that Cardinal Mercier should take the leading part in the ceremonials of the day which were to commemorate restoration, for was he not the man who had valiantly faced danger and loss whilst so wisely guiding his people in the days of their tragic distress. Resplendent in robes of scarlet, tall, spare but supremely dignified in bearing, the Cardinal from whose countenance radiated benedictions, seemed to dominate the whole assembly, and as he descended from the tribune at the conclusion of his address he was greeted with tremendous applause.

A message of good wishes for the University of Louvain from President Harding was read by the Ambassador of the United States to Belgium. This was followed by an address, in every sense worthy of a great occasion, by Dr. Murray Butler, Chairman of the American National Committee, which was formed to collaborate with the British and other committees in the work of reconstruction, and which made itself responsible for the erection of the new library building.

Monsieur Poincaré, the ex-President of the French Republic, followed with a spirited and eloquent oration, which was greeted point by point with tumultuous applause.

Other addresses followed, including one by Monsieur Carton de Wiart, Belgium's principal Minister of State, in which he referred in moving terms to the manifestation of international regard which that gathering stood for, and concluded on the following high note :—

"L'humanité s'est sentie violée dans ce qui, dit Pascal, est la principe même de sa dignité : sa pensée, reflet de la sagesse divin. Spontanément, dans l'unité de son âme, elle s'est vouée à l'œuvre qu' Émile Boutroux a parfaitement défini : réparer l'injure faite, par l'incendie de Louvain, à la civilization tout entière.

"C'est un acte infiniment grand, infiniment beau. Il n'a pas de précédent dans l'histoire. Puisse l'avenir ne jamais vouloir qu'il puisse se renouveler.

"Pour cet acte de solidarité sociale et scientifique—qui va faire sortir la vie de la mort—la Belgique, profondément émue d'en être la bénéficiaire vous dit à tous, par la présence de ses Souverains aimés et respectés, le seul mot que la langue française connaisse, n'est il pas vrai, pour traduire le sentiment qui déborde en nous ! Merci !

"Merci à vous tous, Messieurs, dont la pensée a tout compris et dont le cœur a vraiment saigné pour Louvain !"

At the conclusion of the academic function, a procession was formed to proceed to the scene of the stone-laying, composed of the guests, the professorial staff of the University, preceded by the students grouped behind their respective banners, in which the King and Queen walked side by side with the Cardinal, who, vested in cope and mitre, with crozier in hand blessed the waiting crowds as he passed.

Every avenue of approach to the Place du Peuple was blocked by the orderly, but none the less enthusiastic crowds, and in the presence of a concourse of at least 30,000 people, the first chapter in the spiritual restoration of Louvain was opened.

Facing the stage, and at the approach to the spot where the first stone was to be laid, was a great scroll which set forth the meaning of the day's proceedings in the following inscription :—

HOSTILI INCENDIO EVERSA BENEVOLENTIA AMERICANA CONSURGO.[1]

Prior to the laying of the stone it was blessed by the Cardinal, and for this ceremony an altar had been set up, on which stood a famous ivory crucifix, more than three feet high, made by the famous De Bouchardon, and at one time owned by Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

The stone, which bears on one face the following inscription :

LAPIS PRIMARIUS BIBLIOTHECAE LOVANIENSIS NOBILITER REFICIENDÆ,[1]

was then well and truly laid by Dr. Butler.

[1] In Belgium it is the custom to commemorate important events by a Latin inscription in the form of a chronogram in which certain numeral letters, made

It was a thrilling moment when the Recteur Magnificus, Monseigneur Ladeuze, in a blaze of summer sunshine, and in the midst of this distinguished gathering, after voicing the thanks of the University to all who had in any way assisted in the restoration, recalled what had passed at that very spot seven years earlier. The destruction of Louvain began in the Place du Peuple, and the address delivered by the Rector of the University, himself an actual witness of the destruction wrought by the Germans, produced indescribable emotion among the spectators. Here, as we have already stated, was the exact spot where the little Belgian army, away back in 1914, thrilled the world by defying the invading hordes of Germany.

At the conclusion of this imposing ceremony the guests proceeded to the Salle des Fêtes in the Collège de la Sainte Trinité, where a banquet had been prepared over which Cardinal Mercier again presided. Nearly 500 guests were present. After the loyal toasts had been honoured there was a flow of eloquence, many well-known scholars taking part in the proceedings by offering congratulations on behalf of the governments or universities which they represented.

This was America's day. It was to America primarily that the gratitude of the University and of the people turned on this occasion. But the representatives of the English Committee, amongst whom were : Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C. ; Sir Arthur Shipley, the Master of Christ's College, Cambridge ; Dr. Cowley, the Librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford ; and the writer, the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, who represented the Rylands Governors and the British contributors, recalled with pardonable pride that it was in England that this movement began.

To the writer it was an event of peculiar interest and gratification, for in 1915, when we made our first appeal, we were regarded by some of our pessimistic friends with an air of tolerant pity, for daring to make such an appeal when Belgium was still in the occupation of the Germans, and, as they said, likely to remain so. We were not discouraged, however, for buoyed up with a spirit of incurable

to appear specially conspicuous, on being added together express a particular date.

The letters are calculated according to the ancient method : M = 1000, D = 500, C = 100, L = 50, X = 10, U or V = 5, I = 1.

Hence the outstanding letters in the above inscriptions, when added together, give the date 1921.

optimism, we steadily persisted in our endeavours, with the encouraging result that books began to stream in by ones and by twos, and by hundreds, until the substantial total had been reached, to which we have already referred.

The two days succeeding the stone-laying were spent by the writer in Louvain and at Malines, as guest of the University. They were never-to-be-forgotten days, for the Rector, Monsieur L. Stainier, and several of the professors were untiring in their efforts to make our first visit to Louvain interesting. Many new friendships were formed amongst the members of the teaching staff, all of whom conspired with the Rector to make the visit in every sense a memorable one.

On the day preceding our departure, a banquet was given by the Rector, attended by members of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, the object of which was specially to honour the representative of the English Committee, and to express to him and through him to each and every contributor under our scheme, the affectionate regards and thanks of the members of the University for the inestimable service which collectively we had rendered to them—a service which will ever live in their grateful memories.

This occasion gave to us the desired opportunity for formally offering, on behalf of those we represented, to the University through its Rector, heartiest congratulations upon what might be described "the happy issue out of all their afflictions," and also for expressing the confident hope that the future of the University might be richer and more glorious than even its memorable past.

The gratitude of our friends at Louvain knows no bounds. It is almost pathetic in its fervour. Said one of the professors: "You cannot fancy what it is to have been deprived of such an indispensable tool as a library, and then to see streaming in the choice and valuable books that make it possible for us to resume our work."

The new library was at that time temporarily housed in the Institut Spoelberch, and it afforded us great pleasure to see upon the shelves and again to handle some of the 38,000 volumes which had already passed through our hands on their way to their new home, as well as to turn over the catalogue cards which had been prepared at Manchester to form the nucleus of the new library catalogue.

Whatever dimensions the new library ultimately attains, the Rector informed us, the English gift will be kept apart, both on the shelves

and in the catalogue. It is to be an English library in the heart of Louvain, and it was frankly acknowledged that were no other books to be added to it, it would in itself be one of which any city might be proud.

We must not conclude this brief account of the proceedings of a day which will be memorable in the annals of the University of Louvain, and which will live in the memory of all who were privileged to be present, without extending to those of our readers, who so readily and generously lent a hand in this great work of reparation throughout the eleven years that have elapsed since we launched our first appeal, the expression of profound gratitude which fell from the lips of one speaker after another in the course of the day's proceedings.

Those expressions were summed up, reiterated, and emphasized by Monsieur Van den Heuvel, speaking in the name of the University, in a voice which was full of emotion, at the conclusion of the banquet which terminated the day's official proceedings.

Here are a few paragraphs gleaned from his speech :

"L'Université de Louvain a encore un devoir à remplir avant que se clôture cette admirable journée. En son nom je viens réitérer l'expression d'une profonde reconnaissance à l'égard de tous ceux qui ont eu la délicate et généreuse pensée de collaborer à la reconstruction de sa bibliothèque.

. . . . . .

"Combien audacieux était le projet! On ne s'occuperait pas de l'Allemagne. Elle avait détruit, elle avait la charge de réparer. Mais la bibliothèque incendiée devait au lendemain de la guerre être plus complète, plus riche, plus belle qu'elle ne l'avait jamais été. Comme on voit sur le frise du Parthénon la théorie des Panathénées apportant chacun leur offrande au Temple, ainsi les diverses nations seraient appellées à venir à Louvain les mains pleines de livres, d'objets d'art, et à exposer les progrès de la science de leurs pays. Mais pour que le plan fut complet, l'une d'elles devait consentir à prendre à sa charge la construction du sanctuaire où serait réunie cette universelle documentation.

"La conception était si grandiose qu'elle apparaissait presque chimérique.

"Et voici qu'elle se réalise sous nos yeux.

. . . . . .

"Notre gratitude va aux gouvernments et aux comités des diverses nations ici représentées, et qui par leurs dons commencent déjà à meubler les rayons et à préparer la décoration du grande édifice de demain.

. . . . . .

> "Que le Ciel veuille nous accorder des années pacifiques! Et puissons nous dans deux ou trois ans vous donner rendez-vous, non pas à la première pierre, mais au commencement de ce grand monument commemoratif, qui sera la future Bibliothèque. Vous y trouverez, comme dans une ruche vivante, des milliers d'étudiants à la recherche du miel de la science. Sur la tour élancée du bâtiment flotteront les couleurs de la Belgique et des Etats-Unis, encadrées par les drapeaux des diverses nations amies."

The style of the new building is very appropriately that of the seventeenth-century Flemish Renaissance. No attempt has been made to reproduce the one destroyed, which was of a composite character, the ground-floor being fourteenth-century, whilst the first story was of the time of Louis XIII. Every detail of the new design is Flemish, and it will be constructed in brick and stone of local origin. The length of the façade, when completed, will be 230 feet, with a depth of 150 feet. On the ground floor will be a great open arcade fronted by a row of fine arches.

In the ornamentation of the façade over the principal entrance will stand a figure of the Blessed Virgin, whilst two escutcheons will bear respectively the arms of Belgium and of the United States. Along the base of the slate roof will run a stone balustrade worked in the form of letters, composing the words :

"FURORE TEUTONICO DIRUTA, DONO AMERICANO RESTITUTA."

It will be an imposing building, recalling the purest traditions of Flemish and Brabantine art.

The book stacks are of steel construction and will provide accommodation for two million volumes in the completed building.

The first section of the building has been completed and occupied, and the books which were temporarily housed at the Institut Spoelberch have now been transferred to their new home.

Belgium, both urban and rural, including Louvain, has made a phenomenal recovery. Five years ago a journey to Louvain would have revealed nothing but a wilderness of shell-holes and rank grass. To-day there is little about the landscape to suggest that it has ever been devastated at all. Indeed, there are very few traces of the war left, with the exception of those deliberately perpetuated as reminders.

As we reflect upon this wonderful recovery, we recall to mind the spirit which sustained our allies throughout the years of captivity and

exile, as it was revealed in that moving editorial, with its confident note of faith in the justice of their cause, and in the ultimate success of their arms, which appeared in the first London issue of the exiled "Indépendence Belge." Here is one of the most striking paragraphs :—

> "So shall we return, let us doubt it not, to our liberated country. We shall raise anew our towns, set our factories afresh in motion, repair our railways and our harbours, resume our rank among productive nations, and make a new and industrious Belgium great by her works, and high in the whole world's esteem."

When that manifesto was written, early in 1915, our allies could not foresee what bitter experiences were in store for them, but they could face the future with a courage and determination, coupled with self-sacrifice, which have been not only abundantly justified, but have evoked our admiration and our envy.

We cannot conclude this report without acknowledging our indebtedness to the Cork Steamship Company, Limited, for whom Messrs. J. T. Fletcher & Company of Manchester act as agents, for the great service which they have rendered, in so generously undertaking the entire responsibility of the transportation of the new library to Louvain. Six hundred and eighty-one cases of books have been collected from the John Rylands Library, shipped to Louvain, and delivered at the doors of the temporary home, and later at the new building, absolutely free of cost—a most liberal contribution, for which we are truly grateful. We have also to thank Mr. Jebson, the representative of Messrs. Fletcher & Company, for the great interest he has taken in the matter, and for the advice and help he has so readily given in making the necessary arrangements for shipment. Indeed, it is only bare justice to say that we are indebted to Mr. Jebson for obtaining for us this most valuable concession.

We should also like to thank those contributors whose names are to be found in the second list, for the invaluable service they rendered by their ready response to our appeal for gifts of money with which to meet the many expenses incidental to the organization of such a scheme. For example, amongst the books contributed there were a large number which required binding, rebinding, or repairs at the hand of a binder, in addition to many minor repairs effected by the members of the staff of the John Rylands Library, before they could be regarded as ready to be placed upon the shelves of the new building. Certain

of the contributors generously defrayed the cost of repairs to their own contributions, but there were many institutional and individual donors who were unable to do so. Added to these expenses, which were considerable, there was the cost of providing suitable packing cases, and other contingent expenses which had to be met.

Our grateful thanks are also due to several members of the staff of the John Rylands Library who, from the very inauguration of the scheme, have been simply untiring in their devotion to the work of registration, cataloguing, preparation of volumes for the binder and also for shipment. Special mention should be made of the names of Mr. T. Murgatroyd, and Mr. Ronald Hall, who have rendered invaluable service, in the performance of which they have been assisted by Mr. V. D. Shrewsbury. Two other members of the staff, whose removal by death we lament, Mr. Charles Groom, and Mr. G. W. Brophy, also rendered very valuable service during the earlier years of the organization of the scheme, which we here gratefully record.

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